

SELECTIONS FROM ENGLISH PERIODICALS VII

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

It is not yet quite six weeks that we have seen the world. During this time, the amount of public sympathy and support which have been vouchsafed to us, has exceeded our most sanguine expectations. As a token of grateful appreciation of this support, and in obedience to the wishes of many of our patrons and supporters, we have been authorized to announce that another sheet will be added to our paper from the next issue. Consequent on this increase in the size of the paper, the proprietors have felt the necessity of raising the subscription to Rs. 6 for the town and Rs. 7 for the mofussil; but those who will become subscribers and pay up their annual subscription on or before the 1st day of July next, will have the paper at the former rate.

A crowded and enthusiastic public meeting was held at the Town Hall for memorialising Parliament on the Vernacular Press' Act. The following resolutions were put and carried *en bloc*.

Resolution I.—That of the manifold blessings which have been conferred by the English nation and the English Government on the people of this country, they have esteemed the freedom of the Press as one of the greatest, as it has been of innumerable service in helping the cause of their intellectual, moral and political progress. This meeting therefore deeply deplores the withdrawal of this inestimable boon, so far as a most important section of the Press is concerned, by the passing of the Vernacular Press Act and desires to place on record its deliberate opinion that the Act is calculated to restrain the legitimate freedom of discussion which the Vernacular Press had up to this time enjoyed, to arrest the development of Oriental Literature and to deal a serious blow to the cause of native progress and of good Government in India.

Resolution II.—That having regard to the devoted loyalty of the people of India to the British Crown, to which H. E. the Vicerey and other high officials have borne willing testimony, to the peace and contentment that reign throughout the country, this meeting desires to record its emphatic opinion that a repressive and retrograde measure like the Vernacular Press Act is unnecessary and uncalled for and the Act is likewise open to the grave objection that it altogether dispenses with the usual safe-guards of judicial investigation, and substitutes in their place the discretionary authority of executive officers.

Resolution III.—That this meeting deeply regrets the undue and unnecessary haste with which the measure was carried through the Supreme Council, the bill having been introduced and become law at one and the same sitting, the public having been thereby denied the opportunity of discussing the provisions of law, affecting so vitally the interests of the native populations of India.

Resolution IV.—That the following gentlemen form themselves into a committee with power to add to their number, with a view to frame a Memorial based upon the resolutions which have just been adopted for presentation to the House of Commons to obtain signatures thereto, and to take such other steps as may be deemed necessary for transmitting it to Parliament—

On Saturday last, being the first day of the Bengali year, the dissenting members of the congregation of the Bharat Borshia Brahma Mandir, celebrated their *Vishab*

at the house of Baboo Upendra Chunder Bose, adjoining to the Brahma Mandir. Our readers will find a programme of the proceedings in another column. The service in the morning was conducted by Baboo Umasi Chunder Dutt, one of the newly elected ministers, and was very impressive. The *Jata Uddipana* in the programme is entirely an innovation and a move in the right direction. The whole day was spent in prayer, friendly conversations and exchanges of mutual sympathies and ended at 10.30 p.m. in the night in a hearty *Priti Bhogya* (dinner). Such movements can hardly be too highly commended.

As a result of the Vernacular Press Act, the *Bahuchar* has ceased to exist. We cannot but too deeply lament the event. The *Bahuchar* was one of the first class Bengali Journals and was doing signal services in spreading education and enlightenment among thousands of our benighted countrymen. If the result of this injurious Act be the gagging of all the first class Vernacular Weeklies, the whole of India should go into mourning and with one voice appeal to Her gracious Majesty, the Empress, and lay their grievances at her feet.

The last *Sunday Mirror* thus sums up the result of the explanatory statement, as it is called, published by itself in defence of Baboo Keshab Chunder Sen—“Among the more dispassionate and unprejudiced public, the feeling is one of sympathy with the minister and of recognition of his high principles and character.” May we ask, without being considered impertinent, whether the *Statesman and Friend of India*, Mr. Dall, and the *Indian Church Gazette* rank among the “dispassionate and unconcerned public” and have they recognised the “high principles and character” of the ex-minister in this marriage? This issue, we see, is edited by Baboo Kista Behary Sen alone. Has Baboo Keshab Chunder Sen ceased to edit the *Sunday Mirror* jointly with his brother?

Who will not, after perusing the following expressions of opinion on the position of England, published in the *Nineteenth century*, and coming, as they do, from the pen of Mr. Gladstone, say amen?—

I am selfish enough to hope, in the interest of my country, that in the approaching Conference of Congress we may have, and may use, an opportunity to acquire the good-will of somebody. I mean some nation, and not merely some government. We have, I fear, for the moment professedly alienated, if not exasperated, eighty millions of Russians. We have repelled, and I fear, estranged, twenty millions of Christians in the Turkish Empire. We seem to have passed rapidly, and not without cause, into a like ill colour with its twenty millions of Mahomedans. It is not in France, Italy, or Germany that we have made any conquests of affection, to make up for such great defeats. Nor is it in Austria, where every Star is with the first twenty millions, and every Magyar with the second. Where is there all this to stop? Neither in personal nor in national life will self glorification supply the place of general respect, or feel the hungers of the heart. Rich and strong we are, but no people is rich enough, or strong enough, to disregard the priceless value of human sympathy. At the close of the year, should an account be taken, I trust we may find at our command a less meagre store of them, than we have had at its beginning.”

The vacillating policy of the conservative ministry has placed England on the eve of a great war, and she cannot count, with certainty, upon the co-operation of any other Power.

Against the letter of the printer and publisher of the *Bahuchar* news paper, the last *Sunday Mirror* makes

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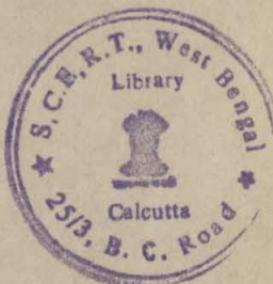
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**SELECTIONS FROM
ENGLISH PERIODICALS
OF 19TH CENTURY BENGAL**

VOLUME VII : 1878-80

Brahmo Public Opinion

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BRAHMO PUBLIC OPINION

SOCIOLOGY OF BRAHMOISM IN BENGAL

ONE of the most powerful movements, mainly socio-religious in character, which shaped the uneven course of the Bengal Awakening in the 19th century, was the Brahmo movement. Historically the movement is of tremendous importance, owing mainly to the fact that it was set in motion by no less a person than Rammohan Roy, who has been acclaimed by historians, the Father of Modern India, and that the curve of its development, its rise, progress and decline, corresponds to the curve of the Bengal Awakening in general. It is still more important sociologically because this Brahmoism of India, originating in Bengal, bears some resemblance to the Protestantism of the West, in the sense that it contributed in a way to the partial breakup of the mediaeval and the rise of modern modes of thought, that its free and rational interpretation of all religious scriptures, Hindu, Muslim and Christian, became not merely a device of social strategy but a sincere expression of an individualistic and anti-authoritarian outlook, and that it played a creatively dynamic role in history in liberating the forces of modern capitalism, individualism, nationalism and democracy in our country.

The word 'Brahmo' is an adjective formed from 'Brahman', a neuter substantive used in the philosophical language of Hinduism for 'God', conceived either as an impersonal divine being or as a personal God. Brahmoism is based on this religious belief in an impersonal divinity of a supreme spirit of the universe, and is therefore primarily a religious, theistic reforming movement. It represented, not unlike Protestantism, the religious phase of all other modern social movements in Bengal, and also in India. It did not spring from Hinduism only, or from contact with western Christianity as has been interpreted by J. N. Farquhar in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion*

*and Ethics.*¹ It arose as a revolt against Hindu polytheism and idolatry, and also against all superstitions and later accretions to Islam and Christianity. It was essentially a protest against all Man-God and God-Man deviations in all great religions of the World—Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. The debt of Brahmoism to Christianity, as has been pointed out by Farquhar, or to Hinduism and Islam, is not an important matter.

What is important is its protestant attitude to cants in all religions, including those in Christianity. The founder of Brahmoism, Rammohan himself, explained this in a little tract called 'The answer of a Hindoo to the question : Why do you frequent a Unitarian place of worship instead of the numerously attended established churches'.² He advanced the following reason, among others :

Because I feel already weary of the doctrine of Man-God or God-Man frequently inculcated by the Brahmans in pursuance of their corrupt traditions ; the same doctrine of Man-God, though preached by another body of priests, better dressed, better provided for, and eminently elevated by virtue of conquest, cannot effectually tend to excite my anxiety or curiosity to listen to them.

The priests who are 'better dressed, better provided for, and eminently elevated by virtue of conquest' are the white priests, the Christian missionaries, and that Rammohan did never differentiate between these fanatic Christian *padres* and the orthodox Hindu Brahmin *purohits* or Mussalman *mullahs*, or between the corrupt religions preached by each class of priests, is amply evident from his answer.

Rammohan fought a hard battle not only against Hindu polytheism and idolatry, but also against Christian Trinitarianism and theology. It was a battle waged simultaneously on both fronts to defend the common people against pincer attacks of the Hindu Brahmin priests and Christian padres. As a religious movement, divorced from the dynamic realities of life, Brahmoism was doomed to degenerate in the long run into narrow sectarianism, and break up into rival schisms. But

as a social movement it unleashed a new dynamism in our stagnating society, which gathered strength as days rolled on, and rushed out into several tributaries in all directions, fertilising the vast mental wasteland of our people with many rich, fruitful and progressive ideas.

In his *Annals of Rural Bengal* Hunter says :*

'Before the commencement of 1771, one-third of a generation of peasants had been swept from the face of the earth and a whole generation of once rich families had been reduced to indigence.' In the midst of this devastating ruin and some sort of a fluid social order, Rammohan Roy was born in 1772 (1774 ?) in a village of West Bengal, in the early days of Warren Hastings' reign. When Cornwallis was introducing the Permanent Settlement in 1793 he supposed that 'he was strengthening the former status of the zamindars and landed classes at the cost of the right of the government. He was in reality subverting their former status and bringing about a social and agrarian revolution, in which the old landed classes went down, and new ones came to the top.'

Rammohan Roy passed the early days of his childhood and youth in the midst of this social revolution. The 'new ones' or the new landed classes who 'came to the top' were the *banians mutsuddis gomastas munshis* and *dewans* of British rulers and European traders who had settled down in the new city of Calcutta and amassed huge fortunes in their commercial transactions with the English, the French and the Dutch. When the rigours of the Sale Law were liquidating rapidly the old zamindaries of Bengal one by one, this new class of rich upstarts was buying them up to elevate their social status. Insofar as this new class differed fundamentally in outlook from the pure type of feudal nobility or 'old aristocracy' and approximated closely in the ways of life to the rising commercial classes, they may be said to have constituted the rising Bengali bourgeoisie.

The huge capital which they accumulated by banking, by business contracts and by various sorts of inland trade,

was diverted deliberately by the British rulers from industry to land. Cornwallis wrote: 'There is every ground to expect that the large capitals possessed by the natives which they have no means of employing ... will be applied to the purchase of landed property as soon as the tenure is declared to be secured' (emphasis added). But although the capital was channelised to land and the fate of the Bengali bourgeoisie as a colonial class was doomed, mentally they could not be shifted to the rural atmosphere of the landed estate. They were becoming 'absentee' landlords and steadily drifting towards the town. They were also throwing the entire weight of their newly acquired social status on the new urban milieu in order to influence and shape it in their own way. This is an important factor which should not be ignored in assessing the social role of the rising Bengali bourgeoisie, in spite of the fact that there was a lag in the development of their economic role. It cannot be denied also that the ideological impact of the rising capitalism of the West upon this new class of economically stunted Bengali bourgeoisie, produced far-reaching social consequences.

Rammohan Roy was born in a Brahmin family of the 'old aristocracy' which owed its social status not so much to Brahmanism as to generations of state services under the Mughal rulers of Murshidabad. He was engaged in enhancing his own economic status by purchasing new landed property and increasing his income by means of other commercial transactions in his early youth. He amassed considerable wealth by serving as dewan or native assistant to the British revenue-collectors, as their munshi or Persian teacher, and also acting for sometime as banian in Calcutta, that is, as agent and middleman for the Company's servants and British free merchants. When he finally settled down at Calcutta in the year 1814, it was not in the least difficult for him to make his presence felt among the new family-founders in the town, that is, among persons who then constituted the upper stratum of Bengali society.

His education and learning, over and above his own economic status, and also his personal connections with the

upper circles of the Company's British servants, helped him greatly in gaining a dominant position in the new urban society of Calcutta. He could easily draw round him a section of the upper-class Bengalees to organise a powerful 'social group' with the purpose of propagating his ideas of religious and social reforms. These ideas made up the core of Brahmoism, and they began to spread mainly through the activities of two important societies organised by Rammohan—the *Atmiya Sabha* (1815) and the *Unitarian Committee* (1821)—and partly his own literary works. With the spread of these ideas among the new English-educated class, which was steadily growing in the first quarter of the 19th century in Bengal, particularly after the foundation of Hindu College in 1817, the need for a broader organisation was strongly felt, and on 20 August 1828 the *Brahma Sabha* was opened at Feringhee Kamal Bose's house at Chitpore Road in Calcutta. It was called *Brahma Sabha* in its early days, a name which was later changed to the more popular 'Brahmo Samaj'.*

Ideological Strands

The founder of Brahmoism has been called by different names—a 'zaburdast' (very powerful) maulavi, an orthodox Vedantist and a loyal Christian. It is evident therefore that the Hindu, the Moslem, and the Christian—all the three conflicting cultures of Rammohan's time—contributed to the growth of Brahmoism. As a son of a noble Hindu family associated with the Mughal Court, Rammohan had to learn Persian and Arabic early in life. There is no historical evidence to prove conclusively that he learnt Persian and Arabic at Patna, Sanskrit at Banaras, and Tantrik Buddhism in Tibet. What is important is that his profound learning in Persian and Arabic brought him into contact with the free thought and universalistic outlook of the Mohammedan rationalists—the *mutaza'lis*—and the Mohammedan Unitarians

* See Editorial Notes.

—the *muwahhidin*—and that they were among the most powerful formative influences upon the ideological development of Rammohan towards anti-idolatrous monotheism. His deep knowledge in Sanskrit afforded him the opportunity for probing into the core of Hinduism and Buddhism, and his acquaintance with Hebrew and Greek gave him the key to the sources of Christianity. He discovered in all of them the central core of true religion, the existence of a Supreme Being, and everything else in all religions as false accretions to this core.

Thus he laid the foundations of a universal and comparative religion based on the unity of God as supreme being or spirit, embodied in the concept of Brahma in Hindu philosophy. There was only one theism, with historical variants like Hindu theism, Muslim theism and Christian theism, and Brahmoism represented this theism only and nothing else, at least in its origin in the days of its founder Rammohan. All these strands of Vedantism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity went to the making of the composite web of Brahmoism in the first quarter of the 19th century in Bengal.

Centre Shifts to Calcutta

So long the centre of gravity of mediaeval society had been the land, that is the rural society. At the time of the awakening, as in Europe, the economic and thus the social and cultural centre shifted to the city of Calcutta. Calcutta was fast taking the shape of a ‘baroque’ capital with its straight roads and streets for horse-drawn wheeled traffic, and its linear houses, from the beginning of the 19th century. The social emphasis was also moving to the town and Calcutta was becoming the centre of ‘new commerce’ and ‘new learning’. The Calcutta Madrasha was founded in 1781, the Fort William College in 1800, the Hindu College in 1817 and the Sanskrit College in 1824. By the first quarter of the 19th century Calcutta became the chief centre of the classical Hindu and Islamic cultures, and also of the modern European culture.

It is not unlikely that Rammohan Roy drew his main inspiration for fusing the basic elements of the contradictory three into one Brahmoism, from his contacts with all these cultures in Calcutta, irregularly since the beginning of and regularly since the middle of the second decade of the 19th century. Calcutta became the chief centre of the socio-religious reforming activities of Rammohan from 1814-15, and he worked for a period of fifteen years only till November 1830, when he sailed for England and died there, after three years, in 1833. These fifteen years mark the first phase of Brahmoism, perhaps the most glorious phase of its existence, although the actual Brahma Sabha was founded in 1828 and the Theistic Church was formally opened in a separate house of its own in 1830.

The birth of Brahmoism, truly speaking, took place with the foundation of Rammohan's Atmiya Sabha in 1815 and the publication of his Bengali translation of the Vedanta. This was the first translation of the Vedanta in a vernacular language in India, and the first handing over of the sacred text, preserved so long as a secret treasure in manuscript form in the sanctuaries of the priest-class, to the people in printed form. This Bengali translation of the Vedanta, and a Hindusthani version of it as well, were freely distributed by Rammohan among the people, for disseminating the idea of one supreme being and delivering them from the clutches of the degenerate priests. This would not have been possible without the aid of the new democratic tool, the printing press, which Rammohan consistently sought in the days of his struggle, and which the new town of Calcutta always provided.

Thus the battle for modern socio-religious reformation in India began in the new town of Calcutta from about 1815. The commander in the field was Rammohan, and the tools which he used were mainly two : i. the free association or society ; ii. the press and publications. Both the tools were available in the town only, because the spirit of the town itself was making men free at that time. It was therefore necessary for Rammohan to settle down in the free atmosphere

of the town first, and then immediately after that to proceed towards organising a free association like the Atmiya Sabha, with the avowed purpose of free discussion and diffusion of his social and religious reforming ideas.

Atmiya Sabha To Brahma Sabha

The progress of a small family-like social group like the Atmiya Sabha towards a large public association like the Brahma Sabha in fifteen years, indicates the growth of Brahmoism from childhood to adulthood. Everything which Brahmoism stood for in the religious and social fields was vigorously proclaimed by Rammohan with the inauguration of the Atmiya Sabha and the first publication of his translation of the Vedanta in Bengali. It appears from the reports of the Atmiya Sabha in contemporary periodicals that its weekly meetings were held, possibly by rotation, in the houses of its members in the different parts of the town, including Rammohan's own house.⁵ That the Christian missionaries were keenly watching the progress of this society is evident from this report of the year 1816 :⁶

They call themselves a society and are bound by certain rules, one of which is, that no man shall be admitted into their number except with this condition, that he renounces idolworship.... One account carries the number of Rammohan's followers to nearly 500, and states that they expect soon to be strong enough to enable him publicly to avow his faith and consequently to lose his caste....

The number of Rammohan's followers here has probably been exaggerated but the account is important because it indicates the rapid growth of the Atmiya Sabha within one year of its foundation. An account of 1819 states :⁷

We learn with great satisfaction that the meritorious exertions of Ram Mohan Roy have already produced a most powerful effect on the Hindoos in Calcutta and its vicinity. An intelligent correspondent has assured us, that an assembly of the followers of the Vedantic doctrines, took

place on Sunday the 9th instant at the house of Kishun Mohun and Brij Mohun, sons of the late Radha Churn Majumdar, well known to many of our Calcutta readers as a respectable native gentleman. The meeting was attended by some of the members of many of the families, most eminent for wealth or learning amongst the Hindoo inhabitants.—There is no question that the leaven of religious reformation is now strongly fermenting, and that liberality of sentiment on general subjects is making most rapid progress amongst the natives of all classes.... At the meeting in question, it is said, the absurdity of the prevailing rules respecting the inter-course of the several castes with each other, and of the restrictions on diet, etc., was freely discussed and generally admitted—the necessity of an infant widow passing her life in a state of celibacy—the practice of polygamy and of suffering widows to burn with the corpse of their husbands, were condemned—as well as all the superstitious ceremonies in use amongst idolatrous. Select passages from the Oppunishuds of the Veds in support of the pure theistical system of worship were read and explained ; and hymns or songs were sung, expressive of the faith of the audience in the doctrines there taught.

This meeting of the Atmiya Sabha was held on 9 May 1819. The account of the meeting proves beyond doubt that the religious and social ideology of Brahmoism took shape in the regular discussion meetings of the Atmiya Sabha, long before the Brahma Samaj was formally established. The circle of Rammohan's supporters in the Sabha was also steadily expanding, and the new ideology of Brahmoism was spreading beyond the borders of the town to its vicinity. Another account of the meeting of February 1820 points out the frequency of the meetings with this remark :⁸

the frequency with which the professors of the purer doctrine meet together, with the view of promoting free discussion, as the readiest means of strengthening themselves in the maintenance of what they have to consider as truth.

It is interesting to note that in almost every account of the

Atmiya Sabha and the Unitarian Committee, the emphasis is on 'free discussion' and its importance. Here is another account of Rammohan's laudatory efforts at reform:⁹

It must gratify every friend to the progress of human reason to learn, that notwithstanding the difficulties so long considered insuperable, a glorious change is effecting in British India. The free press of Calcutta has operated most powerfully in reforming the most inveterate and revolting abuses. The effect of seven native presses at work in that great city has been to triumph over Hindoo superstition in its stronghold. The celebrated Hindoo Reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, has held public monthly meetings at Calcutta, for the purpose of freely discussing the tenets of his religion and exposing the cruelties practised under it. By the way, a Mr. Adam, a Baptist Missionary, awakened by arguments of this Hindoo Reformer, has declared himself an Unitarian, and established an Unitarian Press... Such are the blessings of unfettered discussion.

This free discussion and agitation, carried on through group-parleys and public meetings, and through the press, strengthened the struggle of Brahmoism for reform and extended its sway over a larger social sector. An educated Bengali middle-class was rapidly growing in the town, in the second decade of the 19th century, which made up a sort of a 'social reserve' and on which the progressing Brahmoism could rely for support. Rammohan Roy was also intensifying his struggle for reform at this time, not only holding meetings more frequently but also by publishing a series of polemical writings against idolatry and against the suttee, or the inhuman practice of burning Hindu widows on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands.

Societies and associations were springing up in the town at an increasing rate, and the English-educated young men under inspiration of their radical Eurasian teacher Derozio, founded the famous Academic Association in 1827-28. These societies and associations were the harbingers of the new awakening in

Bengal among urban middle-class, because Bengal or India had not known any such societies organised for collective thinking and discussion until the 19th century. 'There had been religious sects, guilds of merchants and artisans, colleges of doctors and parliaments of lawyers ; but there had never been anything like societies, let alone a whole network of societies, for the avowed purpose of collective thinking and talking.'¹⁰

The Atmiya Sabha of Calcutta was probably the first society of its kind in India and in its struggle for the spread of the socio-religious ideals of Brahmoism stimulated the growth of other such societies, of which the most outstanding was the Academic Association of the Derozians or the Young Bengal group in the twenties of the last century. When Brahmoism was trying to synthesise the best of the West with the best of the East, the Young Bengal appeared on the stage with a swing to the extreme left, welcoming everything of the West as best and condemning all that their own culture stood for as worst. The Academic Association was definitely spreading confusion and alarm among all ranks in 1827-28. Rammohan was watching the extreme radicalism of Young Bengal with grave concern, although he was happy to find in them a great ally of his Brahmoism. His systematic campaigns against idolatry and the suttee roused also the wrath of the conservatives and the moderates, who were then trying to organise themselves in a society to counteract the reform movement launched under the banner of Brahmoism. It was high time to open the Brahma Sabha publicly and it was therefore formally inaugurated as the Brahma Sabha on 20 August 1828. The meetings of the Brahma Sabha were conducted, like those of the Atmiya Sabha, with citations and readings from Vedic texts, followed by the singing of hymns and songs.

We do not know how far the Atmiya Sabha was actively pursuing its mission in 1827-28. It appears from contemporary reports that its activities were taken over by the Calcutta Unitarian Committee. In a meeting of the Calcutta Unitarians held on 30 December 1827 and attended by Rammohan and his associates, it was decided to form a new and a more

comprehensive organisation in the name of the British Indian Unitarian Association.¹¹ The idea of forming a separate Brahma Sabha was still not there, which grew in the next seven months between January and July 1828. The failure of the Unitarian Association to attract people, and the insistence of some of Rammohan's young followers on establishing an entirely national place of worship, free from the air of a foreign church, led to the foundation of the Brahma Sabha.

The custom of suttee was declared illegal by the government on 4 December 1829. The opponents of Rammohan immediately called a protest meeting at Calcutta and organised a rival association called the *Dharma Sabha* on 17 January 1830. Within a week, on 23 January 1830, Rammohan reopened his Brahma Sabha in a new house of its own at Jorasanko. Sivanath Sastri writes : 'Thus two influential factions arose in the Hindu Society of Calcutta, the one led by Rammohan Roy, followed by a number of rich families whose position and influence were unquestioned, and the other led by Radha Kanta Deb, the recognised leader of orthodox Hinduism, followed by an imposing array of big names.'¹² Within a few months a third was added to it when the celebrated missionary Alexander Duff arrived at Calcutta on 27 May 1830. It was the faction of Christian missionaries led by Duff. But Rammohan sailed for England within another six months in November 1830, leaving the Brahma Sabha under the care of the trustees and the legacy of his struggle for reform to his old and young followers. With the departure of Rammohan for England in 1830, the first phase of the ideological struggle of Brahmoism ended.

Sociology of Brahmoism

It is significant that in all accounts of the Atmiya Sabha and the Brahma Sabha, the associates and followers of Rammohan have been invariably mentioned as rich and wealthy persons.

The *Missionary Register* of London wrote in 1816 about Rammohan :

He has spread his doctrine to a considerable extent, and has several Hindoos of *high caste and of fortune* in league with them, who maintain his opinion. (Emphasis added.)

The accounts of the two meetings quoted above from the *Asiatic Journal* noted that they were attended by ‘some of the members of many of the families, most eminent for wealth and learning...’ Sivanath Sastri also says about the Brahma Sabha that it was led by Rammohan and ‘followed by a number of rich families whose position and influence were unquestioned.’

We find therefore that the bourgeoisie or a ‘new aristocracy’ was arising in Bengal in the 19th century, against the privileged priests and the old feudal aristocracy. They were throwing off the tutelage of the old and emerging on the twin props of money and intellect as a bourgeoisie of liberal character. Their social status was largely determined by the economic factor, and also by the preferential social opportunities afforded by the new education. Rammohan Roy was the leader of this liberal bourgeoisie in Bengal, and so far as Brahmoism represented their ideology it played a progressive role in the social and cultural history of the Bengal awakening.

We have already referred to the economic situation in which Rammohan was born and brought up, and in which Brahmoism emerged and grew up. It is interesting to note how most of his followers and friends scaled up the economic ladder to establish themselves in the upper stratum of the new urban society in Calcutta. Dwarkanath Tagore, or ‘Prince-Dwarkanath’ (grandfather of Rabindranath) as he was often called, got his English education at Sherbourne’s school, was appointed dewan to the salt-agent and collector of the 24-Parganas, and dewan to the board of customs, salt and opium. After leaving government service, he founded the firm of Carr Tagore & Co., the Union Bank and the Land-holders’ Society. He amassed a huge fortune which he invested both in new business enterprise and in landed

property. Ramnath Tagore, a brother of Dwarkanath, was also educated at Sherbourne's school, and worked in the firm of Alexander & Co. and also as treasurer of the Union Bank. Prasanna Kumar Tagore was educated at Sherbourne's school and Hindu College, inherited the extensive landed property of his father Gopi Mohan Tagore, joined the legal profession and amassed a large fortune by his success in that profession. Gopi Mohan Tagore held an important appointment under the French government and purchased big zamindaries. Brajamohan Majumdar was the son of Radha Charan Majumdar who was employed as dewan by Middleton, one of the residents at the court of Lucknow. Nanda Kishore Bose, father of Rajnarain Bose, worked for sometime as a clerk in the opium agency office at Ghazipur, and then as a clerk in the treasury and the special commission office for the resumption of lakheraj lands in Bengal. He got his education at Rammohan Roy's school. Tarachand Chakravarty, a brilliant student of Hindu College, worked for sometime as munshif, as dewan of Burdwan Raj estate, and also earned money from independent business. Kalinath Munshi (Chowdhuri) and Baikunthanath Munshi were famous zamindars of Taki (24-Parganas), whose father Ramkanta amassed an immense fortune by serving under the East India Company as munshi. Jaykrishna was a scion of the wealthy Singha family of Jorasanko in Calcutta, founded by Dewan Santiram Singha, who amassed a huge fortune by serving as dewan to Thomas Rumbold and Middleton at Murshidabad and Patna. Raja Kalishankar Ghoshal was a descendant of the famous Bhukailash Raj family of Kidderpore in Calcutta, a family which acquired huge wealth by serving as banian and in various other capacities in the heydays of the East India Company. Annada Prasad Banerjee belonged to the famous zamindar family of Telinipara in Hoogly district, the founder of which acquired immense wealth during the Bharatpur war by serving as dewan under a British captain, and also as banian in the office of Colvin & Co. Baidyanath Roy, son of Maharaja Sukhamoy Roy, belonged to one of

the richest families of Calcutta which owed its entire fortune to the patronage of the Company's servants. Kasi Nath Mullick was a Bengali millionaire of Burrabazar in Calcutta. Mathura Nath Mullick was known as the 'Indian Rothschild'. Brindaban Mitra, grandfather of the famous scholar Rajendralal Mitra, was the son of Pitambar Mitra, who acquired a large fortune by serving as vakil of the nawab of Oudh at the court of Delhi. Brindaban also rendered some services to Warren Hastings and was for sometime dewan to the collector of Cuttack. Baidyanath Mukherjee was also a dewan and amassed huge wealth before he settled down at Calcutta. He was one of the influential Hindus who approached Hyde East with the proposal to establish a Hindu College at Calcutta and became its first 'native secretary' when it was founded in 1817. Moti Chand was a near relation of the Raja of Burdwan and a dewan in the salt department.

These are some of the very intimate associates, friends and followers of Rammohan. They always stood by his side with unflinching loyalty during his struggle for religious and social reforms in the first phase of Brahmoism. They represented undoubtedly a section of the 'new aristocracy', or the rising bourgeoisie which we may call liberal and they supported and fought for Brahmoism because it reflected their highly individual, rational, cool and calculating business-like attitude, both towards religious and social matters. So far as this attitude was destroying the old socio-religious forms and helping them to ascend to the top of the new social set-up, they exploited it inspite of its inherent democratic and progressive tendencies as the best way to ensure their own social domination.

The attempts to bring about a systematic, disciplined and methodical way of life in religion, as in economic matters, began with Brahmoism in Bengal. And although Brahmoism failed to achieve anything substantial in the religious field, the democratic and liberal tendencies fostered by it, immensely helped in strengthening the social reform movement in Bengal and in other parts of India. In fact, Brahmoism became

synonymous with social progressivism, even long after its religious roots had began to decay.

In religious reform Brahmoism failed for obvious reasons. One of the reasons of its failure is that religion can never be reformed from the top by intellectual reasoning. Its arid intellectualism never appealed to the masses. Brahmo methods were almost, without exception, Christian-like. Its weekly congregations, sermons and prayers were largely borrowed from Christianity. This method did not appeal to the Hindu mind. Moreover, Hinduism which Brahmoism sought to reform, is not a religion in the sense that Christianity, Islam or Buddhism are. It recognises no personal founder, no head of establishment. It consists of a series of different cults and beliefs, partly integrated and harmonised, conscious and tolerant of one another, everywhere in accord with tradition and usage, and resisting any formal organisation into a larger whole, but tied to a certain unity reflected in a common culture. Brahmoism failed to comprehend this totality of Hinduism in seeking its origin to Vedic sources. It founded on the rock of the 'national' Hinduism by trying to transcend it as a 'universal' religion.

As a religious reform movement Brahmoism therefore lost much of its force in later years after Rammohan Roy, became more and more exclusive, and drifted almost irresistibly, as we shall see in its subsequent history, towards sectarianism and schismatic rivalry. But it gradually gathered strength in the social sphere as it rolled on, and fresh liberal-minded youth from the educated middle-class came into its fold. The social dynamism which Brahmoism gained during the days of Rammohan, steadily increased in intensity and spread over a larger social area, under the leadership of Debendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen. Above and beyond the petty quarrels of rival sects in the religious sphere, it gradually merged itself with the broader stream of the progressive movement in the social, educational and political fields.

II

'The flock without the pastor dispersed, and the champions and friends of Brahmoism on the death of their leader, appeared in their true colours. The great Zamindars—Roy Chowdries, Munshies, Mullicks and Singhs—who had gathered round the standard of reformation, now began to falter and fail, and ceased attending the church which they had contributed to raise.' Thus observed G. S. Leonard, one of the earliest writers on the rise and growth of the Brahmo movement in Bengal.¹³ The friends and associates of Rammohan have been described sarcastically as 'a party of boys, joining in a festive diversion for a while', and then withdrawing to 'the lap of their domestic usages and customs as soon as the spell of merriment was over.' In fact, the dispersal of the flock began with the departure of Rammohan for England in November 1830, and the blow of his sudden death almost routed them from the field. Rammohan could give them nothing but an ideological and an institutional mode of Brahmoism. The institutional mode was not as perfect as the ideological. He did not find time to build up a model Brahma Sabha and to formulate its aims and objects on the basis of concrete programme which his followers could take up for working out. That is possibly why Pandit Sivanath Sastri says that Rammohan's 'work was mainly negative and reformatory and not positive and constructive.'¹⁴

Story of Dispersal

Of the three famous Tagores among the close associates of Rammohan—Dwarkanath, Prasanna Kumar and Ramrath—none had any time to spare for the work of the Brahma Sabha and all were completely engrossed in material pursuits. About the last two Tagores Leonard comments that the Brahma Sabha 'is under little or no obligation to their patronage, influence or liberality. In fact, both these rich men declined to fulfil the trusts imposed on them.'¹⁵

Dwarkanath, of course, contributed his mite to keep the Sabha going. Tarachand Chakraborty, who had been the secretary of the Sabha from the beginning, and Chandra Sekhar Deb—perhaps the two most brilliant of the very few young disciples of Rammohan—left the Sabha for secular employment under the Burdwan Raj. Radhaprasad and Ramaprasad Roy, the two sons of Rammohan, could not look after their father's Brahma Sabha in spite of their best intentions, because of their more urgent economic worries. The big Zamindars like the Munshis of Taki, the Banerjis of Telinipara and the Ghosals of Kidderpore began to falter under the heavy fire of the orthodox Dharma Sabhaites. As Zamindars they had many things to lose by their support of such social reforms as prohibition of Sati and anti-idolatrous monotheism, and they could little afford to forbear social ostracism for it. Therefore, the only way left them was to become half-hearted patrons of progress, and to practise safely at home all traditional customs and rites which they publicly professed to reform. This lukewarmness on the part of the associates of Rammohan made them appear like a band of opportunists, and their Brahma Sabha a moribund organisation.

Derozians in the Thirties

Meanwhile the Derozians, or the Young Bengal, stepped into the field, and the thirties of the last century were dominated by them. It appeared for some time as if the initiative of the reform movement had passed over to the Young Bengal, and the Brahma Sabhaites were lagging far behind them. Mainly through the press, that is through the columns of three important papers : *The Enquirer* (1831) edited by K. M. Banerjea, *Jnananvesan* (1831) edited by Dakshinaranjan Mukhopadhyay and Rasik Krisna Mullick, and the *East Indian* (1831) edited by Derozio! the Young Bengal launched their campaign for reform.* Although their main target of attack was the orthodox

* See *Selections*, Vol I.

Dharma Sabhaites, they did not spare the faltering Brahmos. The followers of Rammohan were severely criticised for their insincerity by the Derozians and were often ridiculed in their press. The pusillanimity of the Brahma Sabhaites was also a favourite subject of criticism of the orthodox Hindu press. It was a sort of a pincer-attack by both the extreme radicals and the extreme conservatives which the Brahma Sabha had to face after the departure of Rammohan. Prasanna Kumar Tagore, through his paper, the *Reformer* (1831), alone fought against this anti-Brahmoism of the Derozians and the Dharma Sabhaites, in a tone which was really remarkable at that time for its rationalistic detachment and sobriety. But Prasanna Kumar himself was found to contradict his ideal in practice, and like Kalinath Munshi and other big Brahmos he was also bitterly assailed in the press. Quoting a contemporary *India Gazette* wrote about him :¹⁶

During the present holidays, there has been no small discussion in the papers relative to Baboo Prasanna Coomar's celebration of worship of Doorga. The Chundrika first brought the subject before the public, by publishing the names of those individuals, who being known to hold the worship of idols in contempt, still celebrated this popular Pooja. The East Indian then took up the subject and in allusion to Baboo Prasanna Coomar's connection with the Reformer, a paper in which the Hindoo Gods and Goddesses are treated with little honour, maintained the inconsistency of his engaging in this festival. Some friend of the Baboo then came forward and addressed a letter to the India Gazette, in which he endeavoured to exculpate him by asserting that he was bound to perform the worship of the Goddess, inasmuch as he had trust property in his hands which had been devoted to this object. To this a rejoinder was given in the East Indian, denying the fact.

This reflects the general trend of opinion of both the conservative and the radical press about the Brahma Sabhaites in the thirties of the last century. This schism in the ranks of the reformers was gradually widening as the younger Derozians

were becoming more and more anarchical and intolerant about both their opponents and friends. The *India Gazette*, perhaps the best liberal English paper of the time, appealed fervently to the Derozians to restrain their social behavior and check the tragic schism among themselves and their fellow-travellers. In an editorial article it wrote :¹⁷

A Brahmo Sabha, or Hindoo Theistical Society, has been formed by Rammohan Roy and his friends, who besides have the command of several presses and conduct several periodical publications.... Those young men who have received their education at Hindoo College and have embraced liberalism, have not united with the former party ; nor do they agree perfectly among themselves, but have apparently divided into two classes, according as they are more or less disposed to encounter all risks in their opposition to the prevailing system.

It is clearly stated here that the Derozians did not unite with the Brahmos in their fight for social reform. They even fell out among themselves in regard to the method to be pursued for attaining their goal. This tragic rift among the progressive reformers was strengthening the hands of the conservatives and the cry of the reactionary Dharma Sabhaites was, therefore, growing louder in the thirties. The *India Gazette* and the *Bengal Hurkaru* were consistently writing about this trend, persuading all groups of reformers, particularly the 'ultra-radicals', as they used to call the extremist section of the Derozians, led by Derozio himself till his death in December 1831 and later by Krishna Mohan Banerjea, to stop criticising each other and to unite for the common cause of reform. The *India Gazette* wrote editorially, addressing obviously the ultra-radicals :¹⁸

Whatever they may say or think of us, we admire the intrepidity with which they have attacked error, and we sympathise with those who have been made the objects of persecution but we must not be deterred by personal considerations from remonstrating against a style of controversy which compromises the cause of truth and the character

of its defenders, and which has, according to our judgement, a very obvious tendency to retard its progress by multiplying and embittering its enemies, and by alienating or dividing its friends.... Some of the Hindoo reformers of the present day appear to have forgotten in their treatment of their.... Opponents ; and if we consider their proceedings we shall find them equally intolerant towards those who are equally as desirous as they can be of promoting the improvement of their countrymen, but who either from deficient courage, or superior judgement think that the object may be more beneficially accomplished by milder means and a more gradual process. It is no part of our business at present to pronounce... which is in the right and which is in the wrong. What we mean to say is that both might go on together in friendly cooperation, to the extent to which they agree, against the common enemy, and that what prevents this is the intolerant tone assumed by the radical reformers against their moderate coadjutors, as well as against the adherents and defenders of the old system.

About the same time in an editorial article *Bengal Hurkaru* wrote on the subject in the same vein :¹⁹

The Reformer of Sunday last contains a long editorial article which may be considered an exposition of the principles and opinions of that party of which the editor and his friends are the leaders. By the ultra-radicals these are called the half-liberals, whilst by those who share in their sentiments they are styled the moderate reformers. The merit of the two sects have excited some rather angry and irritating discussions, which while they can do no good to either party, may seriously injure the cause which both equally profess to have at heart, and only adopt different means for the attainment of the same end. We regret extremely to observe these dissensions among the common friends of liberty and knowledge, and we sincerely wish that they could be induced to direct all their efforts against their general enemy, and not lessen the effect of their exertions by petty squabbles and divisions amongst them-

selves. It is true that the moderate reformers, less bold than the ultra-radicals, have not wholly and openly rejected the creed of their forefather, but they have refined upon it in so subtle a manner and have cut off so many of its grosser absurdities and superstitions and appear to be so sincerely desirous of liberalising the minds of their countrymen, that it is in the highest degree churlish and injudicious, in those who are merely somewhat further on the same road, to regard them with a feeling of hostility. We believe that the ultra-radicals reject entirely the Hindoo view and while they profess pure Deism or the belief in one God, are inclined to lend a favourable ear to the argument in support of Christianity.

This is possibly the best impartial assessment of the real social situation in the thirties of the last century in Bengal. It is evident from these contemporary reviews quoted above that in the thirties the progressive reformers were divided into three groups, of whom the Brahma Sabhaites were called the moderates, and the Young Bengal radicals and ultra-radicals. The two groups of the Young Bengal may also be called its Right-wing and Left-wing. The Right-wing of the Young Bengal was led by Ramgopal Ghose Pearychand Mitra and Dakshinaranjan Mukhopadhyay and the Left-wing by Krishna Mohan Banerjea. The principal organ of the Right-wing was *Jnananwesana*, and of the Left was the *Enquirer*. The Brahmo moderates had their *Reformer*. The battle of progress was mainly fought through the press, and while the tone of the moderates and the right radicals was sober and rational, the tone of the ultras was extremely intolerant and abusive. On the opposite side the orthodox Dharma Sabhaites were also violently intolerant and abusive. It seemed as if the ultras were their only antidote at that time. The invectives of the ultras, hurled on the orthodox Hindu community, might have produced better results if they could stop squabbling with their friends and fellow-travellers. But they could not do that. Even the Right-wing of the Young Bengal, though agreeing on many points with the moderate

Brahmos about the means and ends of reform, did not consider it desirable to unite with them for their common cause.

Bases of Group-Antagonism

Group-antagonism arises at a particular time in society from various causes, of which the distances of class-status and age are most important. Age conflicts, of course, differ in intensity and social dimension, but nonetheless it is important to a historian. If we look into the roots of the conflict between moderate Brahmos and Young Bengal of the thirties, we shall find that both the consciousness of age and of class were operating behind it. Most of the Young Derozians were within their early twenties, and the difference between their age and the age of the leading Brahmos of the time was so great that they looked upon the venerable middle-aged and old Brahmos with suspicion and did not believe in the sincerity of their profession. The old Brahmos also did not take into confidence the young and certainly minimised the unchallengeable sincerity of their purpose. If they could treat the young with a little more affection and generosity, the story might be different. But the old could not forgive the natural excesses of the young, and the young also could not tolerate the pusillanimity of the old. The young editor of the *Enquirer* wrote in reply to the criticism and counsel of the *India Gazette*:²⁰

Our contemporary is led with the idea that we lose our influence over the orthodox by it. We are surprised that after knowing our object from us in a personal interview, he still perseveres in mistaking us. We told him that our purpose is to deal with the rising generation, and that we do not consider the loss of our influence over the orthodox (we mean persons that have for forty or fifty years been continuously wrapt in prejudice) as of any consequence. Nay, we also insinuated that we have no hopes of effecting a reformation in the old bigots, and that our struggle is to work upon the minds of the rising generation.... The orthodox whose prejudices are opposed, the Brahmins

whose interests are hurt, the hypocrites whose wiles are discovered, may all join and thunder ; we disregard all that they say or do, and engaged in measuring our success with the rising generation.

Almost this same attitude the young Derozians maintained towards the old moderate Brahmos. They made practically no difference between the old bigots and old moderates. And the fact is that the Brahmos constituted a very small group of persons at that time, and almost all of them were middle-aged. The younger generation did not feel attracted to the Brahma Sabha and the Brahma Sabha also did not try to attract them with an encouraging programme and policy of social reform. This was one of the reasons why the lustre of Brahmoism began steadily to fade away immediately after Rammohan.

The distance of social status, based on property and wealth, between the Brahma Sabhaites and the Young Bengal, was also one of the important factors which generated their mutual antagonism. Though the students of Hindu College, who constituted the Young Bengal group, mainly hailed in the twenties and the thirties from the wealthy Bengali families, yet quite a considerable number of them belonged to the new urban middle class. And it was, historically speaking, an age of the middle classes about which we are writing. The Young Bengal, representing the cream of the new educated Bengali middle class, thought themselves best suited for the leadership in all progressive social movements, and took others, including the big Zamindars and landed proprietors who formed the main bulk of moderate Brahmos, as a band of laggards and faint-hearts.

This new middle class owed its social rank and influence much more to new learning and knowledge, to the assimilation of new ideas diffused from the west, than to wealth, and they, therefore, had nothing to lose or to stake, by spreading that knowledge among the people in their fight for progress. But the new landed aristocracy and the commercial magnates who represented the Brahma Sabha in the thirties of the last century, had much to lose and to stake in waging an un-

compromising battle against social reaction. Therefore they hesitated and vacillated, doubted the sincerity of the younger generation, failed to formulate any clear-cut programme of work for the Brahma Sabha, and shut its door to new young recruits who could alone infuse new vitality to it. They allowed the Brahma Sabha to stagnate within its rigid social boundary, and thereby betrayed the sacred trust imposed on them by Rammohan.

Menace of Christianity

Then there was another factor which still more clouded and complicated the whole social situation in the thirties. It was the 'menace' of Christianity. We call it 'menace' because the whole Bengali society, except the young ultras, was looking at it as nothing but that at that time. Such celebrated missionaries as Alexander Duff, Dealtry and others, were then straining to the utmost to convert the newly educated Bengali young men to Christianity and to drive a wedge between the radical and the moderate reformers. Even a cursory glance through the pages of Alexander Duff's famous book *India and India Missions* will convince anybody of the justification of calling Christianity a menace in Bengal in the third and fourth decades of the 19th century. We are quoting a few lines from Duff's book just to show the nature of the problem :²¹

However cheering and momentous be the mental revolution now glanced at, it falls vastly short of the aspirations and designs of Christian philosophy. These aim at something more than intellectual improvement and external reformation. These aim supremely at the conversion of lost souls to God. This is the grand end towards which all our labours must ever be directed. To its furtherance and accomplishment all our educational plans and expedients must ever be rendered subservient. By the vigorous prosecution of the means now described, it is in our power... to root out the monstrous errors of Hinduism, and to substitute for them true literature and true science. Yea

more ;— it is in our power to build up the knowledge of Christian evidence and doctrine in the minds of hundreds, so that these become firmly persuaded of the truth of both ; in a word, become intellectually Christianised.

This would indicate how seriously the Christian missionaries under Duff's leadership, directed all their efforts to make educated young men of Bengal 'intellectually Christianised.' Brahmoism emerged under Rammohan, about a decade before this, to meet among others such a challenge from Christianity. And when that challenge was again thrown upon it with far more seriousness, Brahmoism was facing a grave crisis.

Debendranath's Leadership

It is important to have a clear understanding of this social background for a correct assessment of the contribution of Debendranath Tagore to Brahmoism. S. D. Collet, in her brief sketch of the Brahmo Samaj, says that 'the Church gradually lost its vitality and seemed to be fading away, until it fell into the hands of the remarkable man' Debendranath Tagore. It may be added to this that when the 'Church' or the Brahma Sabha was called upon to give the lead to its countrymen at a most critical time, and when the lead was needed most, Debendranath appeared on the social scene to respond to the call and to fulfil the need. If Rammohan Roy had laid the foundation-stone of Brahmoism, it was Debendranath, its architect, who first raised impressive structure upon it. So long Brahmoism and the Brahmo Samaj existed only in name. Now it became a powerful force under the new dynamic leadership of Debendranath.

Debendranath was a boy of thirteen when Rammohan left for England in 1830, and being the son of Dwarkanath Tagore, one of the closest associates of Rammohan, he had easy access to Rammohan and his house in his boyhood. The seed of anti-idolatry and religious reformation was planted in him during his visits to and his affectionate talks with Rammohan, and it took about a decade for that seed to germinate in the

dawn of his youth. Debendranath has himself confessed it in his *Atmajibani* (Autobiography).²² He started reading Sanskrit and the Upanishads from 1838, and the Upanishads began to mould his life as a religious reformer. He had till then no connection with the Brahma Sabha, and he thought of starting independently a society for disseminating the truths he had discovered. He founded a society on 6 October 1839, known as the famous Tattwabodhini Sabha or Truth-communicating society. This marked the beginning of his long active life in the social field.

Tattwabodhini Sabha

The importance of the Tattwabodhini Sabha in the history of Brahmoism and socio-religious reform in Bengal is indeed great from many points of view. It was a time when societies for discussion of various subjects were cropping up in the city of Calcutta. To quote Alexander Duff :²³

New societies started up with the utmost rapidity in every part of the native city. There was not an evening in the week, on which one, two or more of these were not held ; and each individual was generally enrolled a member of several. Indeed the spirit of discussion became a perfect mania ; and its manifestation, both in frequency and variety, carried to a prodigious excess.

Of these societies perhaps the most important contemporary of Tattwabodhini Sabha was the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, founded in 1838, and controlled mainly by the Young Bengal group. Debendranath got the inspiration primarily from this spirit of his times for founding the Sabha, and he felt an urgency in counteracting the pro-Christian anti-Hindu anarchical trend of the societies under the Young Bengal. Tattwabodhini Sabha inaugurated a new phase of free discussion by discarding the foreign spirit about it and inculcating a respectful critical attitude towards our own national tradition, religious and social. Above all, it became for the first time the rallying centre of a large number

of educated and inquisitive young men who could neither appreciate the activities of the Brahmo moderates nor support whole-heartedly the extremist policy of the ultra-radicals. It played a significant role in a most critical time in the integration of newly unleashed social forces, by winning them away from the spell of the Christian missionaries and the ultra-radicals. Such brilliant young men of the time as Akshay Kumar Dutta, Ramgopal Ghose, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and others, were attracted to the Sabha, not for its religious idealism but for its catholic and sober attitude to all problems of the day. Even Debendranath himself did not know when he founded the Sabha that it would become, within a very short time, a kind of a backdoor by which a large section of the progressive young men would be led to the fold of the Brahmo Samaj.

The Sabha started its career with a handful of young men, not more than ten under Debendranath, then a young man of twenty-two. Within two years the number of its members rose to about 500, and in the course of a few years more it increased to about 800, quite a formidable number for a society of that time. The Sabha used to hold weekly and monthly meetings in which papers on different subjects were read out and discussed. Divine service was held once a month. Within a few months of the foundation of the Sabha, in the first or the second week of June 1840, the Tattwabodhini Pathsala or school was opened in Calcutta to train up young men in the new religious ideal of the Upanishads.

The need for it was strongly felt at that time in view of the fact that Duff and his associates were then out to rescue the lost souls, floundering in the mire of Hinduism, by converting them and intellectually Christianising them. The same need was felt by Rammohan in his days and he founded a Vedanta College with the same purpose. The declared aim of Tattwabodhini Pathsala was not to impart religious education only, but also to check the dangerous tendency of accepting English as the national medium of instruction, and to teach all subjects, including science, in Bengali. Akshay Kumar

Dutta, a teacher of the Pathsala, was requested by Debendranath to write books on modern geography and physics in Bengali for the students. By setting up the ideal of vernacular education and carrying it out in practice through his Pathsala, Debendranath became one of the earliest pioneers of it in Bengal. The Pathsala was shifted to Bansberia, in the quite atmosphere of a village in Hooghly district. Another Pathsala was opened in Barrackpore in 1846. A Hindu charitable institution (Hindu Hitarthi Vidyalay) was also opened in Calcutta in 1846 to meet the challenge of Christianisation of the missionaries. The drift of a section of Bengali youth towards Christianity and towards the vulgarisation of their own religious tradition, was thus given a positive check by Debendranath.

Meanwhile he himself was drifting irresistibly towards Brahmoism through his activities in the Tattwabodhini Sabha and his contact with his teacher of the Upanishads, Pandit Ramchandra Vidyabagish, perhaps the best and the most faithful of all followers of Rammohan. Debendranath gradually realised that the ideals of Brahmoism alone could satisfy the religious yearnings of his heart, and as soon as he realised this he took up the cause of reviving the dying Brahmo Samaj in right earnest. As a first step towards it he decided to link up the activities of the Sabha and the Samaj. The proposal for it was formally placed before the organisations in the beginning of 1842 and it was accepted in April-May 1842.²⁴ Nobody knows, says Debendranath, what would have been the ultimate fate of the Brahmo Samaj if this amalgamation with the Tattwabodhini Sabha had not been effected. It would have disappeared by this time, like other institutions founded by Rammohan Roy.²⁵ In fact, the Tattwabodhini Sabha was much more popular and commanded much more prestige than the Brahmo Samaj at the time when the fusion took place. People began to think of the Samaj as the religious wing of the Sabha, and the Samaj began to emerge out of oblivion leaning on the support of the Sabha.

Reformation of Samaj

The decline of the Samaj was then visible in many directions. There was no fraternity of fellow-believers. Most of those who attended the services were idolators at home. There was no organisation, no constitution, no membership, no covenant, no pledge. Many from curiosity attended the services, specially when young Debendranath took part in them.²⁶ All these limitations were removed by Debendranath one by one. The organisation was rebuilt, a constitution of the Samaj was drawn up, campaign for membership was started, a new covenant was drafted, and a pledge was introduced. Having drafted the new covenant Debendranath with his twenty other young friends and associates, decided to undergo a formal ceremony of initiation at the hands of Pandit Ramchandra Vidyabagish, and to sign the covenant. This was done on the 7th of the Bengali month Pous, 1765 Saka, corresponding to 21 December 1843.

This date gradually marks the first rebirth of the Brahmo Samaj and this influx of a group of brilliant young men, under a young leader, helped much in the quick rejuvenation of the institution. The 'old guard' was naturally not very happy about it. It was no longer a matter of 'fashion' to be a Brahmo. Strict discipline, rules of conduct, and a catalogue of moral and social duties were enforced by the young leader Debendranath, which became very difficult for the 'old bosses' to abide by. They realised that it was high time they should depart, and the young generation should take up the cause of Brahmoism.

The most significant reform introduced by Debendranath, after Rammohan, to Brahmoism was the public repudiation of Vedic infallibility and the substitution of pure reason as the religious basis of Brahmoism. This was a kind of a revolution brought about in the Brahmo Samaj by the persistent queries of the young rationalists inside the Samaj. On their demand Debendranath immediately proceeded to enquire seriously into the matter, and sent four pandits to Banaras to discuss it with learned pandits there. When the doubts were confirmed by the pandits, he himself visited Banaras in 1847 to meet the veteran Banaras pandits, and after prolonged searchings and discussions,

returned to support the demand of the rationalists. While discarding the Vedic infallibility, he was, at the same time extremely anxious to keep the new faith within the limits of reverence for ancient Hindu scriptures. He had every reason to be anxious, because he had seen how this weapon of pure reason, in the hands of the ultra-radicals, turned out to be totally destructive in the social and religious fields. He, therefore, earnestly began to select important passages from the Upanishads in support of natural theism and published them in a book, the *Brahmo Dharma Grantha*. He also laid down some essential principles of it in his book *Brahmo Dharma Vija* for the use of the members of the Samaj. The word Brahmo-dharma or Brahmo religion was now used for the first time by him. In the days of Rammohan it was Vedanta Dharma, and now it became simply Brahmo-dharma. By these efforts to reform the Samaj Debendranath went a long way forward to meet the demands of the younger generation on the one hand, and the challenge of the ultra-radicals and the missionaries on the other.

Pandit Sivanath Sastri says :²⁷ ‘This work of reconstruction must be regarded as one of his greatest achievements.’ Indeed, it was. The natural catholicity of his character helped him to welcome and accommodate the new as far as possible, as his conservative instincts urged him to hold fast to everything that was really precious as a legacy of the old. All these works of reform took place between the years 1847 and 1850. And in fairness to all who effected them, it must be said that these were accomplished mainly under the pressure of the young rationalist group, headed by Akshay Kumar Dutta and backed by Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the best friend, guide and philosopher of Akshay Kumar in Tattwabodhini Sabha and in *Tattwabodhini Patrika* (published since August 1843), the chief organ of the Sabha and later also of the Samaj.

Expanding Activities

After these reforms were introduced, Brahmoism became a living force within a short time. The Tattwabodhini Sabha was in charge of its propaganda and organisation side, and that was conducted most efficiently mainly through the chief organ of the Sabha, *Tattwabodhini Patrika*. Powerful writings in favour of economic, social and educational reform began to appear in the Patrika, and though the views expressed in them did not always reflect those of Debendranath or of the Samaj, the readers took them as such.²⁸ And the Brahmo Samaj ultimately gained by that confusion, in the sense that the *Patrika* remained for long the forum of the younger group in the Samaj. The Samaj retained its popularity through this organ and it began to spread rapidly day by day. The new generation took the Samaj as an institution of their own and looked forward to its progress with confidence.

Krishnagar, in Nadia district, was already a field of Brahmo activity since 1844, where a new house of the Samaj was built in 1847. In 1851 a Brahmo Samaj was established in Burdwan. In 1852 the Bhawanipore Brahmo Samaj was opened and in the same year Debendranath laid the foundation of a Samaj at Jagaddal, a village near Barrackpore in 24-Parganas. In 1858 a Brahmo Samaj was opened in Kidderpore suburb, and another in Dumurdaha of Hoogly district. In the same year the Satyajnan-sancharini Sabha of Bhawanipore and the Nityajnan-sancharini Sabha of Behala started vigorous campaigns in favour of the Samaj and recruited many new members for it. In 1854 the Tripura Brahmo Samaj was established. It is evident that within the fifties of the last century, the Brahmo Samaj was definitely shaking off its urban isolation and extending its field of activity over the entire province.

The field of its activity was also widening. It was spreading from the religious to the social and political arenas. Vidyasagar was already raising serious problems of social reform, like widow-remarriage, early marriage, polygamy, etc., in the columns of the *Tattwabodhini Patrika* in 1855-56, and his friend and editor Akshay Kumar was giving them strong

editorial support. At this time Vidyasagar, then Principal of Sanskrit College, was coming to the forefront of the social movement. And it is interesting to note that when Vidyasagar launched his great social movement in favour of widow-re-marriage in 1855-56, he was an important member of the Tattwabodhini Sabha, and possibly its secretary. So it was not difficult for him to mobilise the entire support of the Brahmo Samaj, even though some of its leaders, including Debendranath, differed from him in matters of detail.

Period of Transition

The period between 1850 and 1859 was not only a period of expansion of the Brahmo Samaj under Debendranath's leadership, but it was a period of transition as well. Debendranath was very soon confronted with a dilemma. He could not control the forces he had himself set in motion. Sastri says :²⁹ 'With the renunciation of the doctrine of scriptural infallibility there arose a tendency amongst the younger members of the Samaj ... not only to broaden the basis of Brahmoism by advocating new social ideals but also to apply the dry light of reason even to the fundamental articles of religious belief.' This spirit of revolt was beginning to manifest itself in the pages of the *Tattwabodhini Patrika*.

A society of friends called Atmiya Sabha (which sounds like a revival of Rammohan's famous Sabha) was established by Akshay Kumar and his colleagues where, among other problems, the attributes of God even were settled by counting votes.³⁰ In a letter of 8 March 1854 Debendranath wrote that the Tattwabodhini Sabha had become a veritable den of some incorrigible atheists, and unless they were turned out the cause of Brahmoism would suffer.³¹ We have reasons to suppose that though Akshay Kumar Dutta, as a member of Brahmo Samaj and editor of *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, was the most prominent leader of this rebel group, yet the most powerful inspirer behind him was Vidyasagar. Debendranath has characterised this revolt in his autobiography as 'a struggle of

intellect and authority' inside the Brahmo Samaj. But he was temperamentally not capable of turning out the rebels, and the rebels also were not willing to be turned out. Instead of doing that he himself retired to the solitude of the Simla hills in 1857.

III

During the absence of Debendranath a young man of nineteen joined the Brahmo Samaj in 1857, the historic year of the Sepoy rebellion, by signing privately the covenant. This was Keshubchandra Sen. Debendranath returned from the hills in 1858 and welcomed the young newcomer cordially. Keshubchandra was then just in his twentieth year. The Tattwabodhini Sabha was still in existence with Vidyasagar as its secretary, and it was still formally entrusted with the management of the Brahmo Samaj. Vidyasagar was then a great hero of the reform movement and he had already won a stiff battle by removing the bar to widow-remarriage. Debendranath decided to abolish the Tattwabodhini Sabha in 1859 and hand over all its properties to the trustees of the Brahmo Samaj. Vidyasagar could not agree with him about the changes and resigned the secretaryship of the Sabha. Debendranath and Keshubchandra became the joint secretary of the Brahmo Samaj. And from this time the Brahmo Samaj entered upon a new phase of its socio-religious activities, which may justly be called its third great revival.

Second Schism

In March 1878 a storm broke upon the Brahmo Samaj of India over the marriage of the eldest daughter of Keshub Chunder Sen with the minor Maharaja of Cooch Behar. A large number of young and conscientious Brahmos launched a vigorous protest movement against Keshub. Driven from the old Samaj Mandir, the protesters started their weekly prayer meetings in a private house, very near the old Mandir. A provisional Committee, called the Brahmo Samaj Committee,

was constituted with Ananda Mohan Bose as President, to take such steps in consultation with the Mofussil Congregations, as might be considered necessary and desirable for the sanctity of the Samaj, and to secure a Prayer Hall of its own. This Committee convened a general meeting of Brahmos in the Town Hall of Calcutta and at this meeting was formally established the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in May 1878.

The immediate cause of this second schism in the Brahmo Samaj was undoubtedly the Cooch Behar marriage, but the real cause was Keshub himself. 'The thunderbolt of Bengal' of the 1860s was fast losing his charisma from the beginning of the 1870s. Keshub's typical Bengali ebullience was drifting irresistibly towards the hallucination of 'Divine Incarnation', which later drove him and his associates to the saint of Dakshineswar, in the northern suburb of Calcutta. One of the leaders of anti-Keshub movement and the founder-secretary of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, says in his brief 'Autobiography':*

At one time I had the highest respect and esteem for Babu Keshab Chandra Sen as a religious teacher and reformer; but lately, that is, a few years previous to the date of the Kuch Behar marriage, some of his proceedings in the Brahmo Samaj of India and his preachings in the Brahmo Mandir, were considered by me as very objectionable, which led me to change my opinion regarding him.

Keshub was no longer a leader of the progressive socio-religious reform movement, through his Brahmoism, in the seventies of the last century. He was a living 'incarnation' of God on earth, an 'Avatar', and he was preaching that message through his press and his sermons in Brahmo Mandir, and often in 'ecstatic' exuberance on the streets of Calcutta, with a group of his blind devotees. We can trace this trajectory of Keshub's aberrations; through the news and comments published in his own papers and periodicals, both English and Bengali. We quote from the English paper below :

* See Editorial Notes

A HINDU SAINT.—We met one (a sincere Hindu devotee) not long ago and were charmed by the depth, penetration and simplicity of his spirit. The never-ceasing metaphors and analogies in which he indulged, are most of them as apt as they are beautiful. The characteristics of his mind are the very opposite to those of Pandit Dayananda Saraswati, the former being so gentle tender and contemplative, as the latter is sturdy, masculine and polemical. Hinduism must have in it a deep sense of beauty, truth and goodness to inspire such men as these.

The Indian Mirror, 28 March 1875.

THE BRAHMO SAMAJ.—Ramakrishna, a Hindu devotee known as Paramahamsa, now living at Dakshineswar, is a remarkable man, and appears to have attained an extraordinary elevation of moral character and spirituality. Several Brahmo missionaries who have visited him from time to time speak highly of his devotion and purity and his deep insight into the realities of the inner world. Though a true Hindu he is said to sympathize heartily with the Brahmos of the advanced school.

The Indian Mirror, 20 February 1876.

Keshub's staunchest follower Protap Chunder Mozoomdar wrote a long article in the *Sunday Mirror* on 16 April 1876, bringing out the salient points of close resemblance between Brahmoism and Hinduism. Several such news and comments were published before the Cooch Behar marriage and before the split in the Samaj. The following news and comments appeared after the split in May 1878 :

EDITORIAL NOTES.—The Paramhansa of Dukhinessur, to whose hermitage we paid a visit on the occasion of the moonlight festival, completely lost his senses when he heard the procession chant the name of God before him. This is what we call being intoxicated or maddened by communion with God.

The Sunday Mirror, 2 November 1879.

Sadhu Sanga, or the companionship of saints and devotees, is justly regarded as one of the essential means of sanctification, and we are gratified to find among our brethren a desire to avail themselves of such means whenever an opportunity presents itself. Dayananda Saraswati, the great Vedic reformer, the Paramhansa of Dakhineswar, the Sikh Nagaji of Doomraon and the Pahari Baba of Ghazipur are, so far as we know, the four distinguished ascetic saints whom our friends have from time to time duly honored, and in whose company they have sought the sanctifying influences of character and example.

The New Dispensation, 26 May 1881.

HOPEFUL SIGNS.—Those who have watched the later phases of religious thought and life in Calcutta must have been struck to find how the venerable Paramhansa of Dakhineswar is serving as a marvellous connecting link between the Hindus and the Brahmos of the New Dispensation. There have been a series of religious meetings of late in the houses of respectable Hindus, in which the representatives of the two communities were harmoniously blended together so as to form a unity of thought and devotion, which was alike striking and interesting.

The New Dispensation, 8 January 1882.

Comment on these quotes is unnecessary. The fact is that the Brahmo Samaj, founded in 1828, set off on an expedition for getting at the basic truth of Hinduism in anti-idolatrous monotheism. But Hinduism is not a religion in the sense Christianity or Islam is. Hinduism is as much idolatrous as it is anti-idolatrous, and as much monotheistic as it is polytheistic. Consequently Brahmoism foundered, within fifty years, on the hidden rock of Hinduism. The thunder of Keshub of 1860s, was silenced by the traditional folk-wisdom of Ramakrishna, the saint of Dakshineswar. The Sadharan Brahmos trudged along the course charted by their founding-fathers. But it was mainly a polemical fight between the *Brahmo Public Opinion*, the *Indian Messenger*, and *Tattwa-*

Kaumudi of the anti-Keshubites, and the *Indian Mirror*, *New Dispensation* and *Dharmatattwa* of the Keshubites. The battle was fought between the hostile groups, among a section of the educated Bengali middle-class, with the result that its ideological spread-effect among the different classes of people was practically negligible.* The Brahmos, to be true, lost their battle to the 'Hindus', and their arid deliberations and dissertations on the theory of Religion, have led, after one hundred and fifty years (1828-1978), to a fantastic upheaval of idolatry and revival of all sorts of obscure religious cults, in this seventies of this twentieth century.

Reference Notes

1. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II ; 'Brahma Samaj' by J. N. Farquhar, pp. 813-824.
2. This tract was published in 1827. S. D. Collect writes about the tract in her biography of Raja Rammohan Roy that it bore the signature of Chandra Sekhar Deb, a disciple of Rammohan when it was first published, but as Mr. Adam informed Dr. Tuckerman in a letter dated 18 January 1828, it was entirely Rammohan's own composition.
3. W. W. Hunter : *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 54-55.
4. W. W. Hunter : *Bengal MS Records*, Vol I, p. 89.
5. *India Gazette*, *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, *Asiatic Journal*, 1827-28.
6. *Missionary Register*, London, 1816.
7. *Asiatic Journal*, May 1819.
8. *Ibid*, February 1820.
9. *Calcutta Journal*, 22 February 1823.
10. *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. 6.; 'Free-thinkers'
11. *John Bull*, 3 January 1828.

* This editorial article was written in 1958.

12. Sivanath Sastri : *History of the Brahmo Samaj*, (2nd ed., 1919), Vol I, p. 41.
13. G. S. Leonard : *A History of the Brahmo Samaj*, from its rise to 1878 A.D. (2nd edition), pp. 92-93.
14. Sivanath Sastri : *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 76.
15. Leonard : *op. cit.*, p. 95.
16. *India Gazette*, November 1, 1831.
17. *Ibid*, October 21, 1831.
18. *Ibid*, October 15, 1831.
19. *Ibid*, October 26, 1831. (Quoted from *Bengal Hurkaru*.)
20. The files of the *Enquirer*, the *East Indian* and *Jnananwesan*—the three most important papers conducted by the Derozians at this period, have not yet been traced. Many articles of these papers were quoted in the *India Gazette* and *Bengal Hurkaru* of 1831-32. The extract here has been taken from an article published in the *Enquirer* and quoted in the *India Gazette* of 29 October 1831.
21. Alexander Duff : *India and India Missions* (Edin. 1840), p. 620.
22. Debendranath Tagore : *Atmajibani* (Bengali autobiography), edited by Satish Chandra Chakravorty (3rd edition, 1927); Chapter 5, Editorial note 11, p. 324.
23. Duff : *op. cit.*, Appendix.
24. *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, 1837 Saka, Aswin (September-October).
25. Debendranath Tagore : *Brahmo Samajer Panchavimsati Batsarer Parikshita Brittanta* (a statement in Bengali on the 25 years' progress of Brahmo Samaj, made by Devendranath on 1786 Saka, 26 Baisakh), pp. 22-23.
26. Sastri : *op. cit.*, p. 89.
27. Sastri : *op. cit.*, p. 107.
28. *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, 1843 to 1855-56.
29. Sastri : *op. cit.*, p. 108.
30. Debendranath : *Atmajibani*, p. 220.
31. Debendranath : *Patrabali* (Letters), 10 ; *Parikshita Brittanta*, pp. 32-33.

WORK BEGUN ANEW

Before these lines reach the hands of our readers there will have been duly laid, the foundation of a separate and new organisation, to be called the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj, which, we earnestly hope, will remove the longfelt want of a regularly constituted body to represent the theistic church ; will give greater security to its interests and greater harmony and strength to all its parts ; which will successfully curb the evils that are alredy doing immense mischief in the church and foster the healthy growth of every noble institution. It is indeed not little surprising that the Brahmo Somaj after half a century of work and progress should wake up to find itself without a constitution, without any organised means of combining its scattered forces or without any facility for regulating its own tendencies ; that after the lapse of so many years it should be our misfortune to notice the fast development of tendencies which if allowed to go unchecked would surely plunge the church into the worst evils of Popery and Priestcraft. It is a fact nevertheless. There is not a shadow of doubt that there are such tendencies, in the progressive church ;—tendencies, we regret to say that are no longer tendencies but have lately coined themselves into hard facts. Of what but a thoroughly unconstitutional mode of proceeding and a frame of mind only begotten by a habitual enjoyment of uncontrolled power, are such tendencies a legitimate outcome ? The Adi Somaj in its anxiety to be faithful to the intentions of its founder has all along strictly kept within the limits set forth in the Trust-deed of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy. Any attempt to organize the church was never made by the parental body, their principal care being confined to the internal regulation of the work connected with the Calcutta Brahmo Somaj, properly so called. This being the attitude of the older school the struggle made by the younger section

at that time to introduce the element of popular representation in the parent Somaj did not succeed and they came away. They came away and laid the foundation of a new organisation in an apparently constitutional manner. A public meeting was held after announcement, speeches were made, resolutions were duly moved, seconded, put to the vote and carried, and a society under the name of the Brahmo Somaj of India was ushered into existence. But there is one very peculiar fact to notice in connection with the establishment of this Society. It is customary with all such constitutional bodies to appoint executive committees to carry on the business of the society ; but curiously enough no executive committee seems to have been appointed in this case, the society being left to the mercies of two office-bearers,— Babu K. C. Sen as Secretary and Babu P. C. Mozoomdar as his Assistant. Since that day down to this, full 12 years have elapsed and yet no rules have been framed for the guidance of the Society, no sittings of an executive committee have ever been thought necessary for consultation, no provision has been made against the abuse of power by the office-bearers, no limits have been set to their authority or to the duration of their office. In fact everything has been managed up to this time with utter disregard for the voice of the church, and in absolute innocence of any attempt to secure it. Were there Missionaries to be appointed or rusticated ?—the Secretary, inspired by God, was to do it ! was any new sums to be raised or expended ?—the Secretary was competent to decide it ;—was there any opinion of the whole body to be ascertained ?—the Secretary was to give it in the name of the whole church.

Thus has the Brahmo Somaj of India gone on guided, controlled and represented by a single individual, till the climax was attained on the occasion of this unfortunate marriage controversy. Thrice have the protesting party sent in letters of requisition, urgently insisting upon calling a meeting of the Brahmo Somaj of India and thrice has the Secretary refused to accede to their prayer. He has arrogated

to himself the functions of a judge and from his high pedestal has decreed that their request is unreasonable and that it could not be attended to before some months more have elapsed. The reply given by the Assistant Secretary to the third letter of requisition, dated the 11th of May, consequently penned after the announcement of the meeting of the Town Hall, is a master-piece in many ways. It is admirable, no less on account of its sound logic than on account of the novel enumerations of constitutional principles. It will be remembered by our readers that some time ago Babu P. C. Mozoomdar published a defence of Babu K. C. Sen. We did not notice at the time that the ominous words "Assistant Secretary" were written below his name, and now it is solemnly announced that as the defence appeared from the Brahmo Somaj of India the controversy about Babu K. C. Sen's guilts is once for all settled. Let us translate his own words. "You have principally brought two charges against the Secretary—and their exhaustive answers have appeared from the Brahmo Somaj of India in my name." And further below—"consequently when the controversy has been once for all properly settled by the Brahmo Somaj of India, there remains very little to be said on my part." There remains very little to be said on our part too, for our wonder is so very great. This strange statement or rather this strange confession conclusively proves the truth of our position. Notwithstanding that 50 different Somajes have protested against the conduct of Babu K. C. Sen—notwithstanding that a large majority of members have declared him unfit for the pulpit—notwithstanding that a public meeting of Brahmos passed resolutions withdrawing its confidence from him—notwithstanding that a very large number of Somajes have voted for his deposition—notwithstanding all this, a statement indicted as an apology for the conduct of a single individual is now roundly affirmed as a statement proceeding from the Brahmo Somaj of India. Could there be anything more unconstitutional? It is also alleged in another part of his valuable document, as one

of the reasons of not calling a meeting that a large number of members is opposed to calling such a meeting. What an ignorance of all constitutional principles does this statement betray ? Let ours readers judge.

The grounds are clear, then, for attempting a fresh organisation for the better regulation of the theistic church for throwing life and vigor into all its limbs which the autocratic government of the last 12 years has considerably enervated for letting every individual Brahmo and every individual Somaj feel that they have something to do, something to contribute towards, the great future of their movement, that it is not his work or my work, but it is the common work of us all. The time seems to be ripe for such an attempt ; since all the appeals that the protesting party have made to the country have been promptly and warmly responded to. Every one seems to be longing for a regularly constituted body. God willing we will have it this time. Let our Brahmo friends understand that the aim and scope of the institution whose foundations are laid this time, is thoroughly broad and catholic. It is far from being hostile to any of the previously existing bodies—for its membership will be thrown open to their members as well. It will be the endeavour of this assembly to represent the church, not in name but in truth to bind together all the sheaves in God's field, to secure the combined voice of the whole church on every important question and to promote greater sympathy and cooperation among all its parts. We do believe that the hand of Providence is guiding us ; that the spirit of God invisibly acting in the heart of our hearts has led our church through its past history and will yet lead us from "untruth unto truth, from darkness unto light, and from Death unto Life Eternal." Trusting in his protecting arms we lean on His Divine will and resign the destinies of our church into His hands, ourselves in the meantime, trying faithfully, earnestly and prayerfully to discharge the solemn duties that the present crisis has cast on every member of the Brahmo community.

16 May 1878

THE SADHARAN BRAHMO SOMAJ

The meeting held at the Town Hall on Wednesday, the 15th instant, was a decided triumph. The earnest and strenuous efforts of the Brahmo Somaj Committee to establish an organisation on a reformed and constitutional basis, in which all the provincial Somajes are to have a voice in the decision of all questions affecting the spiritual, intellectual, and social welfare of the Brahmo Community, have been crowned with success. The reign of despotism and unconstitutionalism has passed away, and theistic church now promises to be an indivisible unit. The thunder hurled at the movement set on foot by certain gentlemen, who are designated as protesters by the quondam leaders of the Brahmo Somaj, has not struck it. Once at least the prophecy of the Sunday Mirror has not been a collapse of the movement as augured by our contemporary, but the organisation of an institution which, we hope, by the blessing of God, will supply a crying want of the Brahmo Community. That a majority of the provincial Somajes were longing for such an institution, and were ready to receive it with open arms, is amply testified by the prompt response given to the letters of the Brahmo Somaj Committee inviting their opinions on this subject. Who will after this say, there is no life, no activity, no enthusiasm, no aptitude for work, no longing for improvement in the Brahmo Somaj? Those who thought the rift in the Brahmo Somaj would at once sweep away this noble institution, must now acknowledge that they were grievously mistaken. The month of those calumniators who presaged a collapse of the movement is now gagged. Truth has triumphed. Misgovernment and unconstitutionalism for ever banished from the Brahmo Somaj. But we were told in the eleventh hour that there was no necessity for this step, that there were no differences on doctrinal points, that there was a constitution in the Brahmo Somaj of India and that the complaint of want of constitution was mere myth. A letter was published in the Indian Mirror of the

15th instant signed by the Assistant Secretary of the Brahmo Somaj of India addressed to Baboo Shib Chunder Deb stoutly maintaining those propositions;* and one of the Calcutta Dailies—a paper for the opinions of which we have the highest regard—has taken up the cry and preached a very enthusiastic sermon to the projectors of the new Somaj. We think it is therefore due that we should briefly state the grounds which led to the establishment of a new organisation. The Brahmo Somaj Committee were from the beginning opposed to create a division in the Brahmo Somaj. They along with other fellow-theists applied all their hearts and energies to put the Brahmo Somaj of India on a reformed and constitutional basis. They conjointly wrote thrice to the Secretary to the Brahmo Somaj of India to call a meeting of all the members to carry out their intention ; but the Secretary would not grant their prayer till a sufficiently long time elapsed. They preferred a charge against the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of having countenanced an early marriage with idolatrous rites, they asked them to empanel a jury of their co-religionists to try that charge, but those officers shirked an enquiry into their conduct and would not call a meeting. The Brahmo Somaj of India had already exonerated them because he himself and another missonary who was also charged with aiding and abetting the offence, had already published a statement in the Sunday Mirror and Dhurma Tatwa absolving the Secretary as well as themselves from the charge. They were the blessed constitution of the Brahmo Somaj of India, none else could venture to ask for an enquiry ! How in the face of such an unblushing statement, the Assistant Secretary came forward with a positive assertion that the Somaj had a constitution, we for the life of us could not see. However the Brahmo Somaj Committee undismayed, thought of bringing about this devoutly wished for consummation in another way. They honestly thought at first, they would succeed by removing the Secretary and

* See Editorial Notes

Assistant Secretary, and appointing other office-bearers in their place. With this object in view, they addressed letters to the muffusil Somajes to have their opinions. A majority of the Somajes were good enough to intimate their opinions in favor of the removal of the Secretary. But then there arose this difficulty. The Secretary and his Assistant were not personages who would readily acknowledge their defeat, and "though vanquished, they would argue still." Instances of such tenacious hankering after power and position were not wanting. Their action with regard to the congregational meeting flashed to the memory. Though constitutionally deposed, the so-called minister still maintained his seat on the pulpit, through the aid of the Police and he has not scrupled to say that it was by the direct command of God that he did not leave the pulpit. God appeared before him, said he to an admiring congregation, and told him there was no other fit person to take his place and besought and begged of him not to give up the Acharjyaship. Of course this time the Police could not have assisted him much, but still there would necessarily be two Secretaries and two Assistants, flying at each other and trying one to counteract the other. One Secretary would convene a meeting, the other Secretary would do all in his power to put a stop to such a meeting being called. Supposing 300 Brahmos depose the Secretary, what is there to prevent him from coming forward and asserting or even proving, that out of the 300, there were only ten Brahmos and the rest were not competent to vote. The Brahmo Somaj of India keeps no record. The Secretary can prepare a list and say, these are the only members of the Somaj. Our statement may at first appear to be a little exaggerated and romantic, but we state nothing but a fact. At the congregational meeting, a loose sheet of paper dubbed a list, was brought forward containing the names of 34, constituting the congregation, but when the ex-minister was asked to resume his seat on the pulpit, the letter was signed by 150, and all of them were stated to be members of the congregation. So disputes and dissensions would not cease but grow and increase. Real work would be

impeded, confusion and anarchy would ride rampant. The Brahmo Somaj community therefore thought that the best thing for the interests of the Brahmo Community would be, to separate and carry on works of usefulness. They then addressed letters to all the provincial Somajes to ascertain their views, and during the short time that elapsed between the despatch of such letters and the 15th of May when the public meeting was held, they succeeded in securing the votes of 20 Somajes, and 425 individual members. After the votes of so many Somajes and individual Brahmox, it is idle to say that no necessity exists for the separation. But this is not the only crisis through which the Brahmo Somaj has passed. We have not yet been able to wipe out of our memory, the memorable schism which in 1866, cut into twain the Brahmo Somaj, and laid the foundation stone of the very Somaj from which we have just separated. The spirited address which Baboo K. C. Sen delivered on that memorable occasion still rings in our ears and sends a thrill through the whole frame. We wish we had that command over the language, that soul-stirring eloquence, that commanding persuasion, that fire of earnestness and zeal to plead our cause. To see whether the necessity which existed then, does or does not exist even now, we are compelled once to cast our eyes through the vista of the past. What said they, who now say no necessity exists, immediately after the schism. "They identified the congregation with the building, converted men's conscience into goods and chattels and demanded allegiance to their self-constituted authority. It was a horrid metamorphosis, but the absolute despotism which was sought to be established through it was still more horrid."

"...They have taken advantage of their legal authority to govern the soul of men. Such a state of things is revolting to our conscience; and it is high time that we should expose the strange duplicity, and the ridiculous inconsistencies and vagaries which mark the present constitution of the Calcutta Brahmo Somaj."

"...Now it is evident that the Somaj is inconsistent not through mental obtuseness, but because it is expedient to be so. The public, however, can no longer tolerate such a belief that the Calcutta Somaj, as at present constituted, is a private affair and does not represent the opinions of the Community. We must therefore pull down its proud authority, and we may do so with the very instruments with which it has been built up."

...By some freaks of fortune we have again tided over another crisis. The circumstances are a hundredfold aggravating in the present case. Can we not fling every one of those words at the present leaders of the Brahmo Somaj of India and ask them to eat their own words? What could be more "absolute despotism" than to turn the congregation out neck-and-heels from the Mandir through the aid of the Police? What could be more "audacious" than for the accused to publish a garbled and inaccurate statement through two of the office-bearers and then to pass it off as a statement of the Somaj itself? What could "identifying the congregation with the building", be than the slipshod and unceremonious way in which the voice of the congregation was set at naught, and though deposed, Baboo K. C. Sen still claiming to be their minister? Could there be a more effective method of "converting men's consciences into goods and chattels" than the ingenious and expedient Adesh invented to justify an early marriage accompanied by idolatrous rites and to pass that off as a creed of the Somaj? What could be a "stranger duplicity" than to aid and abet an idolatrous marriage and then to deny it? What ridiculous "anomalies" could there be, than having passed an Act for a certain purpose, then disobeying it? What "inconsistencies" could there be than to state that Homa was performed for the validity of a marriage and then to say that marriage was a Brahmo marriage? What "vagaries" could there be than what has marked the procedure of the marriage party since their return to Calcutta? Yet the Calcutta Somaj shewed no inclination to uphold authority through the aid

of the Police ; they were not particeps creminis in an idolatrous marriage. It seems the Brahmos went "from the frying pan to the fire." About 12 or 13 years have rolled by, yet the Brahmo Somaj of India could not make time to draw up a Trust-deed for the Mandir, and appoint Trustees for the management of the same. The Calcutta Somaj building had its Trustees, but the lands of the Brahmo Somaj of India building were bought out of public funds and the title-deeds still stand, in the name of whom, no body knows and repeated attempts to appoint Trustees, have hitherto proved abortive. It is stated there are rules and bye-laws, but the generality of the members do not know anything about them. Where are they ? When were they framed ? Were Brahmos generally consulted about the framing of those rules and bye-laws ? They have not yet seen the light. Perhaps they are locked up in the hearts and minds of the Secretary and his Assistant. If there are rules and bye-laws we would like to hear under what rule and bye-laws the Secretary has the power of refusing to call a meeting where requested by some of the members, or which gives him any discretion not to call a meeting when some of the members ask him to do so and others ask him not to do so. Is there a record of who the members of the Somaj are ? Are there any proceedings recorded of the annual meetings which, we are told, are held every year for electing or re-electing the office-bearers ? We should indeed be glad to have a look at them or any one of them. Why talk of constitution when there is none : when the will of one is the basis of that constitution, and when the breath of one can make and unmake a missionary or a member or even the doctrines of a Somaj. It is all very well to write in newspapers about having a constitution and rules and bye-laws when there are none. If then in 1866, there was any necessity for a schism, we say in 1878, the necessity is greater. Were there any doctrinal differences in 1866 ? In 1866, the only plea was that the Pradhana Acharya allowed men wearing symbols of idolatry—the holy thread—to sit on the *vedi* ; in 1878 the

person who sits on the *vedi* not only allowed orthodox Hindoo Brahmins to officiate as priests at the marriage of his daughter, but also willingly, or unwillingly counter-marriage. In 1866, the *Pradhana Acharjya* frankly admitted that so far as he himself was concerned he had thrown off the holy thread, and that others who put them on did so for the sake of keeping appearances ; but in 1878, an early marriage accompanied by idolatrous rites, in open violation of law which the father of the bride had himself brought about, is sought to be palmed off as done under the sanction of God, and the whole Brahmo Community is called upon to accept that doctrine. Are these indeed they, who in 1866 fought for a constitution, but who in 1878 baffled every honest effort to bring about a constitution ? Are these indeed they, who in 1866 eloquently cried down despotism in the Calcutta Somaj, but who in 1878, support that despotism ? Are these indeed they who while members of the Calcutta Somaj objected to persons who, notwithstanding that they wore the holy thread—a symbol of idolatry, were Brahmos in their convictions, to officiate at the marriage ceremony of Baboo Debendra Nath Tagore's daughter, but who, in 1878, as minister and missionaries of the Brahmo Somaj of India permitted persons wearing that very symbol of idolatry and who are orthodox Hindoos by profession and practice to officiate at the marriage ceremony of the minister's daughter ? Are these indeed they who, in 1866, fought the battle of liberty of conscience, but who call in the aid of the Police that they may successfully do so ? If indeed they are those identical persons we feel disposed to exclaim with Milton, "Oh ! how altered ! how fallen !" How the past was bright, sunny, full of promise, ennobling, elevating ; the present demoralising, debasing and self-convicting. Once for all, the Brahmo Somaj has weathered another cyclone and stands untouched rearing its proud head aloft. There is no fear now. A church based on constitution cannot perish.

Fellow-theists ! you are not altered. You have profited by the past. The Soul-stirring words which created a revolution

in the Brahmo Somaj, have not been lost upon you. As you have grown in years so you must have grown in religious and moral strength. Come forward then to the help of your newly established Church. Raise the battle-cry of liberty of conscience, raise the banner of truth and march onward to the rescue of your Church. "If God is the head of our Church and truth our creed, there can be no hesitation in the matter." Your way is clear before you. Put not thy trust on prince's, and on prophets, but on Him who sees through your hearts, and from whom you can conceal nothing. The father calls you, obey.

23 May 1878

BENGAL TIMES

K. C. Sen's Brahmoism. Consistency in the man is rarely a measure for the zeal of his faith, for of course, as are all more or less inconsistent, gauged by a merely human standard—which is itself fallible—we could scarcely escape the imputation of a wide margin of variance between practice and precept. In the minor concerns of life, where no important interests are injured, this want of agreement between a man's conduct and his profession are most noticeable, but in more serious matter, where vital principles are at stake, it occurs with less frequency, though the man who will stand upon his rights for conscience sake is not quite so exceptional an innovator that he should be entitled to martyrdom. It is commonly expected that, a man of genuine principle, will hold stoutly to his convictions, and brave the consequences of his consistency unto death, undismayed by any fear of self, unless and until his belief has undergone such a change as to justify recantation. The man, however, who builds up a reputation for peculiar sanctity, who heads a sect and aims at establishing a school of religion, is one upon whom rests a special obligation to

purity of life and consistency of habit, and failing to meet the responsibilities he has voluntarily undertaken, he not only forfeits his own claim upon the respect of the public, but degrades the sect of which he is the acknowledged leader, to the imputation of subserving personal interests by departing from the rule of action that should bind each member of the denomination. Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen, as a leader of the Brahmos, has come so far short of the courage and consistency which he never lost an opportunity of parading before the public in self-glorification that his name must henceforth be obnoxious to every true believer of the pure theism which the Keshubite school professed to accept in its unadulterated integrity. He has fallen, too, from his place in the tabernacle, not as the deep-thinking, astute scholar his disciples have all along endeavoured to make him appear ; not as the determined champion of a creed sacrificing his all in the defence of a principle ; not even as a tried adherent of a cause proving his devotion and sealing his doom with his untarnished loyalty ; no Keshub Chunder has incurred the contempt of honest men and has roused the indignation of the intelligent, both inside and out of his own sect, by assuming role of a coward and a renegade. The published explanation of his conduct, authenticated under his authority and approval by two prominent representatives of the Brahmo Community appears to us a tissue of contemptible and absurd falsehoods. The Kuch Behar marriage was objected to upon the double ground that it set at defiance the limit of age prescribed for the marriage of Brahmo girls, and that certain ceremonies attending it were idolatrous.

The defence—if defence that can be called which is merely a string of disgraceful quibbles—among other foolish pleas states that, nature had anticipated all objection on the score of the bride's extreme youth, and that had such even not been the case, the nuptials were intended to celebrate merely a betrothal. While the first and chief plea is a palpable falsehood of so gross and cowardly a nature that we leave

it for later and more serious consideration. Regarding the nuptial rites, we can but say that, they were meant as the ceremonials of a complete and binding marriage, that they are never observed as mere betrothals, and that Keshub Baboo could not but have been aware of the fact; while some have even gone the length of asserting that, it was impossible he could have been so ignorant as his friends try to make us believe. More even than this, we believe, that the nuptials were, and were intended to mark, something more substantially determinate than a mere betrothal, otherwise what could be the necessity of dwelling upon the fact that, the bride was physically competent to enter the married state and to undertake all the constitutional results it implies. The grossly indelicate allusion in Keshub Baboo's defence stands in need of no remark. It certainly does give rise to a suspicion that, like a log wallowing in mire, the Brahmo leader seems to be perfectly at home luxuriating in his own nastiness, but let that pass.

The idolatrous rites are admitted, but it is urged in defence that, every reasonable precaution was taken for their exclusion and so Baboo Keshub Chunder is free from blame. Of course this is a mere equivocation, because the ex-Brahmo leader could have insisted that his daughter should be married without heathen rites, and had his wishes been disregarded he could easily have put an end to them by withdrawing his child from the ceremony. These minor points disposed of we approach the alleged strongest point of the defence. The step was taken we read under divine inspiration, the Baboo acting in obedience to "the voice of God within himself" and hence "if all the men of this world had been arrayed against him in opposition, he still could not have refrained from it." He had no regard whatever to the brilliancy of the match, to the exalted station his child would be called upon to fill; he gave no thought to the prestige his own obscure family would acquire by the splendid alliance he had manoeuvred for with a Maharajah, or to the corresponding pecuniary and social benefits likely

to accrue therefrom ; no, the soul of the inspired leader was above all such dross, such inconsidered trifles ; he was commanded like Abraham of old, to sacrifice his child, and he did it in unquestioning faith. Pure, bright-souled being, he disposed of his daughter to a man worth £ 1,07,000 per annum, in obedience to "the voice of God within himself" ; surely an obedience so child-like, so unreserved, so trustful will meet with its reward ! It is perhaps awkward for the Brahmos that their ex-prophet, by dint of striving in prayer, with all the stern asceticism that his character for special sanctity in a manner necessitated, has arrived at a stage of spiritual perfection and beatitude whence it is possible to array himself against the judgment of the world, combined an answer to the inspiration of deity ; it is still more to be regretted that deity should choose to direct the prophet's course in opposition to the dictates of a conscience that hitherto, though considered impregnable to the assaults of the worldly temptation, has never before been conscious of our immediate spiritual guidance, and above all it is perhaps inconvenient for every one but the happy bride and her fortunate parent that Providence should have manifested a personal interest in a union in which the bride is a pauper and the bridegroom a prince, but since the Almighty has thought fit, as it is alleged, to interpose, who is to gainsay the all-wise decree ? We are all acquainted with the story of King Cophetna and can consequently understand the possibility of an unequal alliance, both parties being free to choose their partners. We are less familiar with an instance in which, in modern times, the Omnipotent has expressed His will to man by personal or vicarious communication, the nearest approach to disclosures of a divine character we can remember to have seen recorded being the cases of Moses and Balaam. We are prepared to learn that the Brahmos may have received a vicarious revelation of the will through the medium of Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen in reference to his daughter's union, but we fear the allegation how pregnant soever of import to the theistic cause, will hardly find ready

credence among persons of a practical turn of mind. The pre-mediaeval tone of thought has so degenerated, that people in our day are apt to mistake prophetic inspiration for the raving of a lunatic, and to regard an alleged message from God as rank blasphemy. It is singular that the first occasion upon which the divine message has reached a member of the Brahmo faith should be one which involves the monopoly of a boy-bridegroom, worth £ 1,07,000 per annum. Had the youth been indigent, of obscure parentage, and deeply enamoured of the girl, people would have received Baboo Keshub Chunder's brazen attempt to enlist deity into his service—the more effectually to conceal his abominable selfishness—with somewhat more respect than they can possibly feel for a man, who in order to justify a breach of a marriage Act he had helped to influence in its inception, deliberately sets it aside and casts the odium of his inconsistency upon Providence. In our own experience we have known a notorious sot, who invariably attributed his degraded condition 'o the direct influence of the evil one, adducing as an excuse his own weakness to oppose a will so powerful. He used to tell with maudlin pathos, how the devil had forced him to imbibe glass after glass, till he succumbed altogether. So long as he kept within the limits of the law, no one could touch him, of course, but one day having overstepped them it occurred to a functionary that his Satanic Majesty required to be taken down a peg through his victim, and, as he could not issue legal process on the principal, he executed his warrant upon the agent, with the result of incarcerating him in the Great Jail till his familiar (?) was thoroughly exorcised. We have no doubt that a little sensible treatment would restore Baboo Keshub Chunder to a state of mind in which inspirations of an awkward character would be the least likely to reach him. It would be a blessing if somebody took him in hand in the interest of what is euphemistically termed pure theism. If, at the very first temptation, the high priest of Brahmoism is induced to sell his own daughter and cover his meanness by a series of lies, as daring as they

are unprofitably stupid, and finally takes refuge in blasphemy, what may we not expect from the weaker brethren? This itch for receiving what appear to us very like capricious revelations direct from God, in the matter of wealthy sons-in-law, is highly dangerous, because, less favoured creatures can assign to divine power none of the ordinary limits applicable to mundane phenomena. Keshub Chunder might be inspired to rob a bank next, and, as in the idolatrous marriage, "feel guilty before his own conscience" if he disobeyed the divine injunction.

23 May 1878

THE TOWN HALL MEETING

Pursuant to an advertisement which appeared in the Englishman, the Statesman, the Daily News, the Indian Mirror and the Hindoo Patriot, a meeting of Brahmos was held in the Town Hall on Wednesday the 15th May at 5-30 p. m. The audience numbered upwards of 400. The Adi Brahmo Somaj was represented by the presence of Babu Rajnarain Bose president of the Adi Brahmo Somaj and Babu Bhairab Chandra Banerjea one of its leading members. Besides, there were some gentlemen specially invited for this occasion, amongst whom were the Rev. Mr. McDonald, the Rev. Mr. Hector and Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea. Mr. A. M. Bose was voted to the Chair. The proceedings commenced with a stirring hymn—composed for the occasion and a prayer offered by Babu Bijoy Krishna Goswami.

Before calling on the speakers to move the resolutions that stood in their name, the Chairman referred to certain facts in connection with that day's meeting. He observed that the Brahmo Somaj Committee had tried every means and exhausted every constitutional effort to put an end to the present deplorable state of affairs in the Somaj by

reference to a general meeting of the Brahmo Somaj of India. But their efforts failed. Twenty-six letters were received by the Brahmo Somaj Committee from as many Somajes; twenty-three of which were in favour of removing Babu Keshub Chunder Sen from his office as Secretary:—namely,—Bagachra, Bogra, Dinajpore, Baranagore, Agra. Utkal, Jabbalpore, Goalpara, Noakhali, Nowgong, Shillong, Dehradoon, Multan, Ramporehat, Kakina, Harinavi, Darjeeling, Julpaiguri, Barisal, Pabna, Cawnpore, Serajgunge, Baripore and three namely,—Monghyr, Bhaugalpore and Gya in favour of retaining the present Secretary. But, this expression of opinion and the successive requisitions for convening an early meeting of the Brahmo Somaj of India, signed by a large number of members of the Brahmo Somaj of India and addressed to the Secretary and Assistant Secretary, Babu P. C. Mozoomdar, were of no avail. The Brahmo Somaj Committee were then led to come to the resolution of forming a separate organization on a constitutional basis. Though this resolution was communicated to the mofussil Somajes only on the fifth of May, yet within the space of 9 days no less than 21 communications had been received from as many Somajes—all in favour of the step they were going to take that evening; and, in this interval of time, an important declaration condemning the conduct of the Secretary and the Asst. Secretary of the Brahmo Somaj of India and pronouncing in favour of organising a separate Somaj on a constitutional basis had been received by the Secretary. It was signed by 425 Brahmos and Brahmicas.

The Chairman also referred to an interesting analysis which had been made of the signatures, showing that of the about 250 anusthanic Brahmo families as shown in an important collection of statistics published a little time ago, and which with all its imperfections was the only attempt of its kind, 170 or about two-thirds had signed the declaration.

The Chairman read a letter from the venerable Babu Debendra Nath Tagore expressing his own sympathy with the object of that day's meeting in the following words.

"I approve with all my heart the noble objects of your meeting. Should my life last long enough to enable me to see the realization of the noble ends you have in view, then shall I indeed die happy. Keeping God and Truth as your stedfast aim, you will, I have no doubt succeed in accomplishing your objects. I pray to God that he may grant success to your noble undertaking and spread peace and happiness over the face of India." The Chairman also referred to a letter received that morning from Babu P. C. Mozoomdar. Though the letter was written to Babu Shib Chunder Deb in his private capacity yet the thought that he was justified in drawing the attention of the meeting to that letter as it had been published in that day's Mirror and had no doubt been read by most of those present. He thought it unnecessary to notice the contents of the letter at length, as it no doubt would be gone into by the speakers in the course of the evening's discussion.

The first resolution was moved by Babu Bijoy Krishna Goswami.

"That, this meeting deeply deplores the want of a constitutional organization in the Brahmo Somaj, and does hereby establish a Somaj to be called "The Sadharan Brahmo Somaj" with a view to remove the serious and manifold evils resulting from this state of things, and to secure the representation of the views and the harmonious co-operation, of the general Brahmo Community, in all that affects the progress and well-being of the Theistic cause and Theistic work in India."

In moving the above rosolution Bijoy Babu said that, he believed that the object with which the Brahmo Somaj of India was first established, had not been fulfilled. That Society was first established with the object of representing the general Brahmo Community it was thought at that time that the rights of every individual member would be respected, that all Brahmos and Brahmicas would have a voice in the regulation of their own interests. But what was the result ? The voice of a single individual was supreme. That was the

reason why the nation felt the formation of a society on a thoroughly constitutional basis desirable. He believed the Church to be like a machine where every part both great and small was equally important, where no part could be slighted or neglected. The office-bearers of the Brahmo Somaj of India were guilty of that charge. The Secretary had declared it ...ful even to go through a letter written by the oldest member amongst them. So he strongly felt the want of a society, that would really represent the Church.

Babu Nogendra Nath Chatterjea in rising to second the above resolution said, that he looked upon that day's meeting with mixed feelings of sorrow and delight. He was sorry on the one hand to contemplate that they were forsaking those with whom they acted together for a period of more than 12 years, he was glad that, that day would be laid the foundations of a society, which would be conducted on constitutional principles. How could they remain any longer in a body where there was no voice of the general Brahmo Community, where the right of every member to vote was practically ignored, where the mofussil Somajes were not consulted on any matter of importance regarding either the internal regulation of the Church or the propagation of their faith. The Brahmo Somaj of India in his opinion had no constitution. It had no Executive Committee. That fact was rather curious. He had often noticed that even school boys when forming their debating societies felt the want of an Executive Committee but an important organisation like the Brahmo Somaj of India whose operations extended over the whole country had no such committee. The Secretary did every thing on his own authority. Those occasions were but few when he thought it necessary to consult the members. He remembered only one occasion when the opinions of the members were sought. It was on the subject of legalizing Brahmo marriages. With that single and solitary exception, the Secretary had uncontrolled authority in everything. He referred to the appointment and removal of missionaries. Who appointed them or who removed them, he asked. Was not

that a subject on which consultation with the members was necessary? Did the Secretary take the opinion of the members before such appointments or removals? Did the Secretary consult the members before giving Lord Lawrence an address in their name? He also referred to the letter of Babu Protap Chunder Mozoomdar in which, he (Protap Babu) said that the defence that he (Protap Babu) had published in his own name was to be accepted as the decision arrived at by the Brahmo Somaj of India. That statement formed a good index of the nature of constitutional government in the Brahmo Somaj of India.

Over and above the charge of unconstitutional conduct the office-bearers stood guilty of having countenanced early marriage and idolatry. It had been given out in some quarters, he said, that there was no doctrinal difference between the parties. He believed there was. He was of opinion that Babu K. C. Sen and his friends had silently introduced, many doctrines that were antagonistic to the spirit of simple Theism. He referred for illustration to the doctrine of Adesh or inspiration as promulgated by the supporters of the marriage. Was it not in itself a point on which two parties might separate. Babu K. C. Sen, it was said, asked God, whether the marriage was right, and He said it was right. What a horrible doctrine was that! The sooner such a doctrine was crushed the better for the interests of the Church. He himself believed, he said, in Adesh in one form but the manner in which it was expounded to give sanction to early marriage and idolatry was execrable. He also noticed the doctrine of "Great men". It was a revised and improved edition, he thought, of the kindred doctrine of bodily incarnation. That doctrine had already...from the Indian Mirror and the Dharmatattwa where there were glimpses of a belief in the infallibility of Babu K. C. Sen. Those reasons justified the establishment of a separate society in his opinion.

After this resolution was duly seconded the Chairman invited remarks but as no one opposed it was put to vote and unanimously carried.

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S.C.E.R.T., West Bengal

Date 27.2.87

Acc. No. 3783



Babu Sivanath Sastri M. A. moved the second resolution.

"That all persons believing in the fundamental principles of Brahmoism, not less than 18 years of age, and paying a minimum annual subscription of 8 annas. shall be eligible as members of "The Sadharan Brahmo Somaj", and all mofussil Brahmo Somajes in sympathy with the objects of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj and paying an annual subscription to be hereafter determined, shall be affiliated with the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj and shall have the privilege of returning members to the general Committee."

The resolution in his hand, he said, contemplated the combination of two distinct elements. First of all it aimed at receiving as members of the society every individual who believed in the fundamental doctrines of Brahmoism, who paid 8 annas annually, and was not below 18 years in age. Secondly it aimed at the representation of the mofussil Somajes through their representatives. Both these ideas were equally important for a constitutional organization. No Church was safe, he firmly believed, that did not allow a fair representation of those two elements. The Brahmo Somaj of India, he was sorry to observe, was remarkably wanting in that very thing. It had no constitution so to say. All the efforts that had been during the last six or seven years by individual members, he said, had been uniformly met by strong opposition nay sometimes even by abuse and harsh language by the party of Babu K. C. Sen. Once a board of directors had been forced on them with Babu P. C. Mozoomdar, as its Secretary. He (Babu P. C. Mozoomdar) had been asked to write to the mofussil Somajes to appoint their representatives. The Secretary declared that the mofussil Somajes were so apathetic, that they would not answer his letters. How could the mofussil Somajes be charged with that degree of indifference when they remembered that these Somajes had promptly answered every letter sent by the Brahmo Somaj Committee, when they called into their mind the statement of the Chairman that within 9 days letters had been received from the furthest ends of the country, and when

they were told that the Brahmo Somaj Committee had spent during the last two or three months nearly 114 Rs. in printing and posting letters. From the experience he had of the struggle made during the last 5 or 7 years to introduce constitutional government in the Brahmo Somaj of India and the manner in which all such attempts had been baffled evaded or neutralized by the party of Babu K. C. Sen, he had no hesitation in declaring that it was almost a hopeless task to introduce anything like constitution in that Somaj as long as the present office-bearers held their sway.

Babu Rajani Kanto Ghose B. A., on rising to second the above resolution said, that he came from the mofussil. From what he had seen and heard of the state of things upon his arrival at town, he had at once felt the necessity of forming a new organisation on a constitutional basis ; for he failed to see how could they still continue in the Brahmo Somaj of India after the strange conduct of its Secretary in taking forcible possession of the pulpit, though formally deposed by the congregation, and also in refusing to call a meeting even after repeated requisitions sent by a large number of men who sought to depose him from the office of the Secretary. They of the mofussil had seldom been consulted by the office-bearers of the Brahmo Somaj of India on any important question relating to their common Church. There was no denying the fact that the fate of the Church depended on the whim of a single individual. He therefore strongly felt the necessity of such a constitution as would make it impossible for the Church to rise or fall with a single individual.

The resolution was then put to vote and carried unanimously.

Babu Aditya Kumar Chattarjea B. A. moved the third resolution which ran as follows :—

“That Babu Shib Chunder Deb the elected Secretary and Babu Umesh Chunder Dutt Assistant Secretary of the Somaj and that the following gentlemen with power to add to their number, do constitute the general committee of the said Somaj.”

(Names)

Babu Bijoy Krishna Goswami, Shib Chunder Deb, Ananda Mohan Bose (Barrister-at-law), Babu Durga Mohan Das (Pleader, High Court), Sivanath Sastri M. A., Nogendro Nath Chatterjea, Guru Charan Mohalanobis, Dr. Prasanna Kumar Roy (Dacca), Nobin Chandra Roy (Agra), Jodunath Chakravarty, Chandi Charan Sen (Munsiff, Julpaiguri), Sarvananda Das (Barisal), Nabo Kumar Chakravarty B. A. (Kuch Behar), Ram Kumar Bhattacharjee, Kalinath Datta, Sasipada Banerjea, Bhagaban Chunder Bose (D. Magist, Cutwa), Hara Kumar Ray Chaudhuri, Radha Kanto Banerjea, (Narail), Parbaty Charan Das (Purnea), Docowri Ghose, Umesh Chunder Dutt B. A., Srinath Chund (Mymensing), Ananda Bhubon Mitra (Mymensing), Gonesh Chunder Ghosh, Bhubon Mohan Das (Attorney-at-law), Nabo Kanto Chatterjea (Dacca), Baradanath Halder (Gowalpara), Bhubon Mohan Sen (Noakhali), Kalinath Roy (Dacca), Rajaninath Roy M. A. (Bombay), Aditya Kumar Chatterjea B. A., Rajani Kanto Neogy, Ramdurlav Mozoomdar (Tezapore), Kedarnath Roy M. A., B. L. (Munsiff), Matilal Halder (Darjeeling), Padwahas Goswami (Gowhatta), Kalisankar Sukul B. A., Madhusudan Das (Katak).

In moving this resolution Babu Aditya Kumar said, before he moved the resolution in his hand, he wished to give them a short history of his connection with the protest party. He still cherished love and respect for Babu K. C. Sen and his friends. He was bound to them by gratitude in many ways ; but circumstances compelled him to declare in favour of a new organisation. From the beginning he had not believed it to be possible that Mr Sen would sacrifice the principles of our Church. He had written a respectful letter to him before he (Mr. Sen) started for Kuch Behar, to which he (Mr. Sen) did not reply. After their return, he had personally seen some of the missionaries and tried to ascertain facts ; he had waited on Mr. Sen himself wishing to hear his explanation. He had been asked by Mr. Sen to wait accordingly. But he was sorry the explanation given

was far from being satisfactory. After its perusal, the impression left on his mind was, that Mr. Sen had at first laid down very good principles for his guidance ; but subsequently through pressure or otherwise he had yielded almost all of them. He then felt it to be his duty to join the protest party.

Babu Rajani Kanto Neogy seconded the above resolution, after which it was put to vote and unanimously carried.

Babu Durga Mohan Das (Pleader, High Court) moved the fourth resolution in a short speech. It ran thus :—

“That rules regarding the constitution and management of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj be framed circulated among the mofussil Brahmo Somajes and submitted by the Committee at a general meeting of the members of that Somaj within two months.”

This resolution was seconded by Babu Rakhal Chunder Roy of Barisal and unanimously carried.

Then Babu Umesh Chunder Dutt B. A., was called upon to move the fifth and last resolution :—

“That the following statement be adopted :—

The Statement

(Translated from Bengali)

We owe to the general Brahmo Public a statement of the reasons that have led us to form a separate and independent organisation. We beg to inform them by this declaration that up to this time there is no regularly constituted body in the Brahmo Somaj to represent the views of the general Brahmo Community, and as a result of this sad want, the Church is a prey to manifold and serious evils. It seems never to have formed a part of the aim and object of the Adi Brahmo Somaj to organise and represent the general Brahmo Church ; whilst the constitution of the Somaj founded more than 12 years ago under the name of Brahmo Somaj of India is not at all favourable to the attainment of that object. It does not appear that during this pretty long period the Secretary has ever acted under the constructions of or in

consultation with an Executive Committee ; nor does it seem that any code of rules has ever been framed for the regulation and management of the society, even so much so, that the very question who are its members and who are not, has often been quite a puzzle on occasions of reference. During this long period every important work connected with the society such as the collection and disbursements of funds—the appointment or removal of missionaries etc. has been done exclusively at the option and by the authority, of the Secretary. What could be a stronger illustration of this arbitrary way of proceeding than the fact that no trust-deed has yet been drawn up of the public building created so long as nine years ago, by public subscription at the house of worship of the Brahmo Somaj of India and this is inspite of repeated efforts made by members of the Somaj in private as well as in public meetings, to have a trust-deed drawn up and trustees appointed. But all these efforts to have the Brahmo Somaj property removed from uncontrolled individual authority and placed under the legal possession of the general Brahmo Community have hitherto failed owing to the aversion or indifference of the office-bearers.

Whilst there was this unconstitutional and arbitrary ways of proceeding on the one hand, many erroneous and superstitious doctrines were also being silently introduced into the Church on the other. For fear of causing a division we had so long passed over those breaches of constitutional conduct and the preaching of these corrupt doctrines. We have often seen the views and opinions of a few individuals given out and accepted as the opinions of the whole Church—we have often heard many un-Brahmic doctrines preached in the name of the Brahmo Somaj of India, and as a consequence of the acceptance of these erroneous doctrines, we have also, seen several members prostrating themselves at the feet of an individual and many others leaving the Somaj in disgust and horror at such proceedings. We have not often felt the whole Church and ourselves with it lowered in the estimation of the public on

account of the foolish conduct of some individual members. But yet we have long and in rupture. But now unfortunately there have risen causes to make independent action necessary on our part to preserve the purity and conserve the best interests of our Church.

First the present Secretary of the Brahmo Somaj of India by marrying his daughter who is aged only thirteen and half, to a boy who is fifteen and half, by allowing certain idolatrous rites to be observed in connection with that marriage, and also by allowing the essential elements of a real Brahmo marriage to be subordinated to, and made secondary to these idolatrous rites has made himself open to the serious charge of having countenanced early marriage and idolatry and has thereby violated two principal doctrines of the Somaj.

Secondly before proceeding to Kuch Behar, many members of the Brahmo Somaj of India entreated him to give up the intended alliance, but he turned a deaf ear to all their representations. Many waited on him as friends but he denied them any access to the real facts. Many wrote humble and earnest letters but he did not even condescend to reply to them. For instance to all the queries personally put to him by Babu Bijoy Krishna Goswami, the well-known missionary of the Brahmo Somaj of India, and member of the missionary conference, he replied by maintaining strict silence ; and in answer to the letter which Babu Bijoy Krishna wrote after the marriage was announced as settled—he was rudely given to understand, that after that he forfeited his claims to the discipleship of bhakti. On the first announcement of the intended match, four letters were sent to Babu K. C. Sen from Calcutta earnestly entreating him not to proceed with the match. The first was signed by 23 anusthanic Brahmans of Calcutta (Brahmos by practice) ; the second by about 30 Brahmo students of the city ; the third signed by about 20 Brahmic ladies and the fourth by Babu Horogopal Sircar and three other known members of the Brahmo Community. There was a separate letter signed by almost all the... Brahmans of Dacca. Besides these letters from not less than

50 mofussil Somajes were sent in and published condemning the proposed marriage, in due time. But all these letters, remonstrances and expressions of opinion were ignored and proved of no avail. Babu K. C. Sen declared it sinful even to look into the contents of the letter sent by Babu Shib Chunder Deb and others, contemptuously returned the letter of the Brahmo students pleading want of leisure to go through it and the ladies' letter was deemed beneath notice and as for the other communications they were also mostly doomed to the same fate. Thus fully conscious of our strong dislike—our deep dissatisfaction and heartfelt sorrow he went away to celebrate the match.

Thirdly after his return, two letters of requisition signed by many members of the Brahmo Somaj of India were sent in, the one urging the necessity of calling a special meeting of the congregation of the Brahmo Mandir and the other that of the Brahmo Somaj of India. Both these prayers were rejected and the letters themselves were returned. But just after this Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, and Protap Chunder Mozoomdar called there two meetings in their own name. In the meeting of the Brahmo Mandir Babu K. C. Sen was formally deposed from the office of the minister by a large majority and yet he did not scruple to assert his claims on the pulpit with the aid of the Police ; and as for the meeting of the Brahmo Somaj of India it was on a sudden postponed sine die without any particular reasons being assigned.

Fourthly—upon this the before-mentioned members of the Brahmo Somaj of India sent in another requisition requesting that a meeting should be called within a week. It is indeed curious that when the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary called the meeting in their own name, three day's notice was deemed quite sufficient but when the requisitionists were concerned, they thought six months' time at the least necessary for convening a meeting and refused on that ground to accede to their prayers. Not despairing however the requisitionists sent in a third letter, insisting upon calling a meeting upon 3 weeks' notice. This request also was not complied

with by the Assistant Secretary upon the strange excuse, as we subsequently learnt, that a larger number of members had sent a letter asking the Secretary not to accede to our wishes. The third letter of the requisitionists was sent on the 25th April, and in that letter it was distinctly stated that upon the reception of that letter, should the office-bearers decide to call a meeting, then the notice of the same should appear not later than a week, and should they on the other hand choose to treat it like the preceding two letters—they would be so good as to inform the requisitionists of their purpose in 3 days. For a fortnight did the requisitionists wait daily expecting a notice or a reply. But nothing like either was forthcoming, not till the notice of the Town Hall meeting to found a separate organisation had appeared in the papers.

Fifthly—nothing perhaps can better illustrate the utterly unconstitutional character and the degradation of the Brahmo Somaj of India, than the fact that notwithstanding that hundreds of Brahmos and Brahmicas and a very large number of mofussil Somajes had protested against the marriage from the beginning—notwithstanding that a large number of the members in a public meeting and declared their deep sorrow and condemnation and withdrawn their confidence from the present Secretary—notwithstanding that a vast majority of the worshippers of the Mandir in their congregational meeting publicly deposed him from their pulpit; yet did not the Assitant Secretary scruple to describe a letter of defence written by him as an apology for the Secretary as a document proceeding from the Brahmo Somaj of India, and its decisions as the decisions of that Somaj. This is what he says in the letter to the requisitionists.

“You have brought two principal charges against the Secretary. The answers to them have appeared in full from the Brahmo Somaj of India in my name. In that letter I have expressed by regret on his behalf for everything that occurred without his knowledge or sanction consequently when the matter has been formally decided in the name of the Brahmo Somaj of India. I have nothing more to add.”

We are then to accept the apology put forth by a single individual as a formal decision arrived at by the Brahmo Somaj of India. Could there have been a proceeding more unconstitutional, more unreasonable and more illogical than this?

We feel reluctant to notice in detail the unfair and unworthy treatment that the office-bearers and their organs have accorded to those who felt themselves unable to approve of this marriage, and felt it to be their duty to stand up in vindication of what they conceived to be the true principles and the recognized teachings of their Church. They have not hesitated to invent stories against them with a view to lower them in public estimation ; they have not scrupled to impeach their personal characters in their papers and yet have denied them the right of self-defence by shutting their columns against them ; nor have they shrunk from ascribing the foulest motives to them for their conduct. These are not matters for utterance before this assembly. Our wonder and regret is that those who have devoted many years of their life to preaching the words of truth, men who have often taught lessons of charity forbearance and meekness, and who have been looked upon as patterns of Brahmic life could yet be guilty of conduct like this.

For the reasons mentioned above we are strongly convinced that as long as the present office-bearers are in office there is no hope of the welfare of the Brahmo future peril. We could have called a meeting of the Brahmo Somaj of India in the name of some of us and could have deposed the present Secretary and the Assistant Secretary but the quarrel would not cease there. They are not the persons to give up power easily. Worsted by constitutional means they do not scruple, as experience has shown, to ignore such decisions, and still retain their office. Under such circumstances we deem it the better spiritual advancement and the good of our Church rather than involve ourselves into ceaseless quarrel about the name of an institution, or allow the Brahmo Somaj to continue to be a scene of agitation and perpetual discord. Any course

that promises better results and greater good to our Church is the one we should adopt.

The foregoing reasons have thus influenced us in forming a separate and independent organisation. We need not enter in this place into a detailed description of our doctrines and principles, but we may shortly state that we believe that faith in a Supreme Being and in Existence after death is natural to man—that we regard the relation between God and men to be direct and immediate ;—that we do not believe in the infallibility of any man or any scripture, whatever book contains truths calculated to ennable the soul or elevate the character is a Brahmo's scripture and whoever teaches such truths is his teacher and guide. We regard the fourfold culture of man's intellect, conscience, affection and devotion as equally important and equally necessary for his salvation. We consider love of God and doing the will of God as equally imperative in the routine of a Brahmo's life. We regard the culture of reason at the sacrifice of reason or the culture of faith at the sacrifice of faith as equally defective and as fruitful source, of evil in the religious world. We regard the worship of the one true God as the highest of a Brahmo's duties and as the best of means to improve the soul—and the neglect of it as a way to spiritual death. We look upon the enjoyment of uncontrolled authority by a single individual in any religious community as a calamity and far from looking upon freedom of thought as reprehensible we consider it to be desirable, and regard it as a safe-guard against corruption being a way to salvation or a rank between God and Man as a belief unworthy of a Theist and those who hold such belief as unworthy of the Brahmo name. We consider it to be blasphemy and an insult to the Majesty of Heaven to claim Divine inspiration for any act opposed to the dictates of reason, truth, and morality. From this day we intend devoting ourselves to the propagation of Brahmoism and to the furtherance of the interests of our Church, apart from some of those with whom we have so long acted, but relying for aid and support on Him—in whose hands are the destinies of

man—who supports every noble purpose and has all along invisibly regulated the course of our Church—who in His inscrutable ways has given strength when our Church languished from—very feebleness, has vouchsafed life when her very vitality seemed ebbing away and who has led her out from the darkness and superstition that eclipsed her face. May He once enable us to discharge this sacred mission—may He once more fill all the members of our Church with new life, and resuscitated energy—may He cause the day of hope to dawn upon the darkness of despair—may He lead us out of the regions of discord and disunion into those out of peace and tranquility—may He bless our cause and lead the millions of our countrymen into truth and salvation.”

Babu Sasipada Banerjea seconded this resolution, and it was unanimously carried.

After the usual vote of thank to the Chair the meeting separated at about 8-30 p. m.

23 May 1878

GIFT OF PROPHESY

If any one were to question the correctness of the conclusion to which we came in the preceding article, we would refer him to a lecture recently delivered in the Hall of the Bharut Borshia Brahmo Mandir on the “Gift of Prophecy” by Baboo Protap Chunder Mozoomdar. We were, rightly or wrongly laboring under an impression that the days of Prophets have gone by. No doubt, in the dark ages of the world, when education and civilisation had not illumined the minds and hearts of people, persons who thought of God, and tried to lead people to believe in the existence of God, were looked upon as Prophets to whom and whom alone God, the people believed, revealed His commands, and without whom, they could not know anything of their Heavenly Father. But in the rather fag end of the nineteenth century, when the light

of education and enlightenment has spread far and wide, when the Bible, the Koran, the Zendavesta, the Gruntha, and the Vedas are no longer sealed books to the public at large—when the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, Mohammed, Nanuk, Socrates and of all other religious reformers who once flourished in the world and left their footprints in the pages of history, are accessible to men and women of all parts of the world, and when, above all, God has in His infinite wisdom implanted in our own hearts the best means of knowing Him, we fail to see the use of Prophets. But in our humble judgment, the lecture on the "Gift of Prophesy" has a deeper significance. We wish the lecture had been faithfully reported; for expressions which alone gave a meaning and scope to the lecture have been unfortunately omitted. After dilating upon what saying truths a Prophet teaches, Baboo Protap Chunder Mozoomdar made use of these words : "Such truths many have heard from the pulpit of the Brahmo Mandir. In consequence of the deliverance of such truths, the whole world may rise against him but not a hair of his head shall be injured."

At a time when the Brahmo Somaj is convulsed with cries against Avatarism, this lecture is evidently intended as a sop to the Brahmo public. When it is said that from the pulpit of the Mandir many must have heard the language of a Prophet, and must have learnt truth, which a Prophet alone could teach, what are we to understand? Are we to understand that the Minister of the Bharut Borshia Brahmo Mandir is a Prophet? If this is not the conclusion to which the lecture was directed, we do not know what other conclusion the public were called upon to draw from that lecture. Between the Probhoo of the preceding article and the Prophet of the lecture, we find very little distinction. The illiterate and ill-educated call him Probhoo, the educated and the enlightened call him Prophet. Truly has the Kutch Behar marriage marked an epoch in the history of the Brahmo Somaj. But an 'honest enquirer' wanted to know how a true Prophet is to be distinguished from a false one, and this is the reply. "A

Prophet is known by his face, by his voice, and by the tenour of his whole life." This is the reply which the Sunday Mirror, of September 1, has given to the 'honest enquirer'. We wonder whether the 'honest enquirer' has been satisfied with the reply. Whether without a description of the face, the features and of the voice, the 'honest enquirer' will be able to make out a Prophet, and perform the still more uphill task of distinguishing a false Prophet from a real one. For ourselves, we must confess our inability to be able to do so. The lecture, under review is probably a sequel to that on 'Great men'. Is it next reserved for us to wake one fine morning to hear a lecture on the Apostles ? We have had a Prophet and his epistles, we have not yet had his Apostles and his Miracles, unless the Kutch Behar marriage be pointed out as one of the latter. We have perused the lecture with painful sensations. We regret it the more as coming from Baboo Protap Chunder Mozoomdar from whom the Brahmo Somaj expected much. We look upon this as another instance of what excesses in religion can bring forth. As soon as a man arrogates to himself divine attributes—the power of penetrating into the 'flesh and bones', and of knowing other men's thoughts and desires, he ceases to be a created being. He commits a foul sin. He prostitutes his energies and powers. He blasphemes the Lord. The less we have to do anything with such a man, the more aloof we can keep ourselves from his influence, the better. Little did we think when the Bharut Borshia Brahmo Mandir was established, that the marble pulpit therein will be made the seat of a Prophet. Some of these days we may be called upon to listen to a lecture on physical miracles. In the anguish of our heart, we exhort our countrymen to be careful. In a land of superstition—in a land where every stone, every tree is invested with divinity and is worshipped, such notions may spread like wild fire and infest people with the belief of a Prophet amongst us. Beware, ye brethren, of this false doctrine. Cast off the idea of a religious interpreter between God and man as you would a venomous reptile. Rely upon yourselves, depend upon God,

and you will not require an interpreter. "Knock and it shall be opened." The gates to heaven are open to all. No one in particular holds the key. The Lord revealeth himself to every heart. No one in particular can be specially elected by Him to interpret His injunctions. God speaks to every heart in unmistakeable voice. His laws are not, like human laws, changeable, inconsistent and ambiguous. They do not require to be repealed or codified every year—do not require any counsel to interpret them. Pray fervently and unceasingly, and you will see Him in the heart of your hearts without the intervention of an interpreter—a Prophet.

19 September 1878

THE DIVISION IN THE BRAHMO CAMP

Now that the Brahmo Somaj is divided into three sections, it would no doubt be interesting to note and trace the points of agreement and difference between themselves both as regards matters of opinion and practice. The cardinal doctrine of the creed of the Brahmo Somaj is the worship of the one true God and doing the works that are acceptable to Him. As corollaries to the latter half of the above proposition it may safely be stated that every Brahmo is bound, each one according to his own mite, to propagate his faith among his less enlightened fellow-men and do something towards the amelioration of their social condition. The duties of a Brahmo, therefore, range themselves under the four following heads, viz., those appertaining to a being who has some knowledge of God and faith in Him, who has to perform important duties both as regards God, himself and society at large, who is bound to spread the knowledge that he has of the true, the good and the beautiful, and thereby aid his fellow-creatures in bettering their social condition. A Brahmo is at once a theologian, a moralist, a missionary and a social reformer. Now, as regards the moral and the missionary aspects of his

life are concerned, there is no difference of opinion among the three sections into which the Brahmo Somaj is at present split. Nor is any difference of opinion conceivable. For who is there that, with sanity unimpaired, will maintain that a man should not lead a good moral life, and propagate among his fellow-men the knowledge of the saving truths of which he is the fortunate possessor. But concerning our belief and practice in matters theological and social, there is and must, in the very nature of things, be a vast divergence of opinion among ourselves. Let us now examine how the three sections of the Brahmo Somaj, judged from these points of view, stand ; and whether we of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj are more in accord with our brethren of the Brahmo Somaj of India or of the Adi Somaj. The Sunday Mirror of the last instant says in a tone of melancholy and despondence "...we find there are radical Brahmos whose hatred for Babu K. C. Sen's party, with whom they have much in common, is real and hearty, while their tolerance to gentlemen who openly profess conservative principles, and actually persist in orthodox practices, is singular." If by the above the Mirror means to say that we of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj, having really more in common with Babu K. C. Sen's party than with the gentlemen belonging to the Adi Somaj, sympathize with the latter from some interested or ulterior motive, it is sadly mistaken. For—in point of fact, as well be presently seen, we differ less from our friends of the Adi Somaj than those of the Brahmo Somaj of India. In matters theological, there is not an iota of difference between the views entertained by ourselves and our conservative friends. Nor do they ignore the importance and necessity of social reform. On the contrary, they admit as fully as we do, that the Hindu society stands in need of reform in various departments of life. The only difference of opinion, that exists on this head is as regards the method to be observed in carrying out this great work. Our friends of the Adi Somaj consider our method too radical to be productive of any good, whereas their procedure appears to us to be too conservative to be

consistent with real progress. There ends all difference of opinion. Let us now see how stands the case, so far as the Brahmo Somaj of India is concerned. Here, it will be seen, the difference in theological views is not one of degree only but of kind. The erroneous and objectionable forms in which the doctrines of "Great men" "Inspiration" and "Special Providence" have been taught by the minister of that Somaj, elsewhere, as to obviate the necessity of their recapitulation. Those doctrines, however, unfounded and tinged with superstition as they are, appear harmless compared with the one which Babu K. C. Sen and his party have been trying for years together to pass off as coined by the mint of the Brahmo Somaj. Our readers are by this time familiar with the letter which Babu Bijoy Krishna Goswami published in the Dacca Prokash sometime ago and a transtation of which appeared in this paper on the 14th ultimo. We have hitherto abstained from making any observations on this subject, thinking it unfair to do so, before giving our friends an opportunity of rebutting. If they can, the truth of Bijoy Babu's communication. But nobody has yet appeared in field. Bijoy Babu's assertions remain unchallenged. We will not of course, recognise the dark hints and innuendoes thrown out by stealth in connection with this matter. Bijoy Babu has thrown the gauntlet like a hero and nobody has taken it up in that spirit. But who will? There is truth in the report. We see it as clearly as we see things at noon day. We say not only because the communication has been made by so high an authority as Babu Bijoy Krishna, but there is in it an antecedent probability of its truth. For what is embodied in the report is but to communication to which the lecture on "Great men" was the prelude—the finishing stroke to a policy inaugurated by Babu K. C. Sen to which the same lecture was as the thin end of the wedge—the realization of that suspicion to which the far-seeing Chief Minister of the Adi Somaj gave expression when, some years ago, he said (we quote from memory) "take care that in going to preach the holy name of God you do not preach your own fame."

The one feature which distinguishes Brahmoism from all other system of religion, is the direct communion which every Brahmo believes he has with his Maker. Traces of this doctrine are no doubt to be found in Hinduism ; but nowhere has it received such a full developement as in Brahmoism. Mediatorship is entirely foreign to the spirit of that religion. A forlorn traveller in this dreary vale of tears, the Brahmo looks afar to that heavenly oasis and forgetful of his present tribulations, journeys onward with redoubled vigor. Whoever, therefore, tries either directly or indirectly to cut away this than haven of bliss, takes, to say the least, a serious responsibility upon his shoulder. By one fell swoop he tries to undo what it has taken half a century to appear. Says Babu K. C. Sen to his pupil "I am your mother—you shall grow by sucking out my breast. During my life-time you shall get no truth from God. Truth shall come through me. You cannot receive truth from the land of God so long as I live, for in that case there remains no necessity for, or use of, my life." This reminds us of Mahomed's saying, viz., "There is no God but God, and Mahomed is the Apostle of God," but compared with this, Mahomed's saying dwindles into insignificance. If this is Brahmoism, then all we can say is that what we believe in un-Brahmoism. If those who believe in the truth of the doctrine contained in the passage extracted above pass by the name of Brahmos than we had better be called no-Brahmos. Whoever can manage to believe that the spirit of Brahmoism is consistent with the spirit of the above passage, may as well falsehood, light with darkness, knowledge with superstition, scepticism with faith, progress with retrogression. That surely is no Brahmoism ; it is an antithesis to Brahmoism. The difference between ourselves and our friends on the other side is, therefore, not that which exists between two sects of men of the same religious persuasion ; it is radical ; it goes to the very root theism and anti-theism, between Brahmoism and un-Brahmoism. Thus far theological difference.

As regards social reformation we also disagree. Our friends do not now-a-days attach so much importance to it as

we do. The doing the works that are acceptable to God being a portion of the cardinal doctrine of the creed of the Brahmo Somaj and social reformation being but another form of doing those works, we attach to it an importance next only to that of the worship of God Himself. Our friends, however, are not of the same opinion. Those who have read Babu P. C. Mozoomdar's letter to the Inquirer, republished in the Sunday Mirror of the 14th July last, will bear us out when we say that they have well-nigh excluded social reform from their programme of work. They will only think of the matter when they cannot possibly help doing so. We wish we could dilate on this important topic. But space warns us.

Now our readers will no doubt, perceive the truth of our observation, viz., that we differ less from our friends of the Adi Somaj than those of the Brahmo Somaj of India. So far as theology is concerned, we entirely agree, as has been seen, with our conservative friends ; and the difference in social matters is only partial. With our friends of Babu K. C. Sen's party, the case is far otherwise. In theology we are as poles asunder ; we are at antipodes with each other. Nor is there union in social questions.

Before we conclude we have one word to say. Sincerely as is this division in our infant church to be regretted, we need not lose heart. We have reason to believe that, that division is not without its redeeming features. It presupposes that independence of thought, the absence of which in the Brahmo Somaj we deplored many a time. While individuality and free-thinking, in the literal sense of that word, characterized the age, the Brahmos, professing to believe in a progressive religion and progressive morality, were, in the most important concerns of their life, really much behind the time. Obedience to authority for authority's sake was, for some time and in certain quarters, as much the feature of the Brahmo Somaj as of the catholic church. Now one line of conduct was enjoined to the Brahmos in the name of the holy God, anon quite an opposite course was recommended to them in the name of the same God ; and the self-complacency with which they

accepted the one injunction as well as the other, we found it impossible to reconcile with that love of truth which should be the main spring of a Brahmo's higher life. If defence to authority in preference to reason was to be a Brahmo's rule of conduct, then what has the poor Hindu religion done, that we should renounce it in a body—a religion round which are entwined the thousand and one dear associations of our lives—a religion which has been taught to us with our mothers' milk, and to which we are not without deep obligations? If authority, as contra-distinguished from reason, is to govern us in the moral and spiritual concerns of our lives, then what has the dear mother, the revered father, the beloved brother done, that we should leave them behind and betake ourselves to strangers? If truth—and not authority—were to be the be-all and end-all of our lives, then why leave dear home, brave poverty, suffer persecution. No. Truth, which is but another name of God, is dearer than authority, dearer than mother and father, dearer than everything else in this world. Acquainted by this belief, and knowing our cause to be right, we have thought it a duty imperative on us to enter a hearty protest against the corruptions, the un-Brahmic practices, the high-handed, we had almost said, despotic proceedings which characterized the Brahmo Somaj. Whether we shall succeed or fail time alone will shew. But of this we are quite sure that if truth is on our side, however opposed at first, triumph it will in the end. Let not our friends falter and hesitate. Let not the division in our church frighten them. Let them only act "heart within and God overhead", and success is surely to be ours.

12 December 1878

RELIGIOUS REFORMATION PURE AND SIMPLE

Do we advocate mere social reform ? By no means. On the contrary we are strongly persuaded that there can not be such a thing in a religious community and that the moment such a community profess mere social reforms or mere good works as its objects of pursuit, at the neglect of the higher interest of the soul, it ceases to be a religious community ; the secret springs of its life are dried up and it loses the health and vitality that are the natural outcome of the secret life of the soul. Every work of reform, every good deed, whether in the individual or in the community, should bear the same relation to the inner life as the fruit beareth to the tree ; it must not be something thrust from without, but something coming from within. It is a fatal and deplorable mistake in a religious body to rely for its success or continuance on anything external. The life that will feed it or support it must be generated within. It is not a question of merely training the will to worthy deeds, but a deeper one of awakening and purifying the affections ; of kindling higher aspirations, and of giving an insight into the principles of purity and rectitude. To do all this, it is necessary to throw open the soul to the higher influx from above ; to the vivifying rays of Divine grace that shed life and light on the barren and cold regions of the heart when the heart, the fountain of all the streams of life, is thus regenerated, when purer principles and nobler resolves are thus formed within the soul, every work of reform becomes a question of being simply faithful to the internal life. Such a man abhors caste, because it is revolting to the unbound spirit within him ; he seeks the elevation of woman, because in her degradation he sees the degradation of the whole race ; he hates every other evil custom, because, in doing so he simply obeys the whisperings of his higher and nobler affections. In a religious mind, then, we repeat the assertions, every social reform is essentially and necessarily moral, a question of shaping the external conduct to internal principles of purity and rectitude.

There are other and utilitarian grounds of our entertaining grave doubts as to the good results of all measures of reform that do not proceed from profound religious convictions and are not introduced under the auspices of a restraint put upon it by the holy influence of religion often leads to disintergration of morals. This remark applies with special force to a transitional state of society like ours, when an unprecedented and rather sudden expansion of the national intellect is bursting the shackles of thought and opinion that bound it for many long ages, and the ancient order of things is fast passing away in the midst of the jar of conflicting opinions. Change in such a state of society is inevitable. There must be revolution in almost every departments of our life ; revolutions in our religious principles, revolutions in our social ideas, revolutions even in matters of taste and habits. We must be going. We cannot stand where we are. But change without the regulating balance of a higher and purer law of life than the one that moulded and shaped our conduct in past ages, is simply running into anarchy. Now religion. That binds us to every thing sacred and noble, that inspires us with a just regard for the Divine aspect of humanity, that quickens in us a love for justice and purity and choses away our selfishness by bringing us face to face with the awful and mysterious realities of a higher and purer world, is this great regulator, this higher law of life. It is a passion that takes possession of the soul ; goes to the bottom of our very existence, spreads its subtle influence over every department of our moral nature, tings our secret thoughts and colours all our actions. Such being the nature of religion any reform that is associated with it becomes necessarily associated with every thing that is good or noble in us. There have been periods in the history of some of the nations which were periods of great revolutions social and political, and which were also periods of rank and widespread infidelity. And what do we mark in those epochs ? We mark the sad spectacle of society running into the worst evils of anarchy and lawless existence ; reeling as it carrying on a sort of

acchanalian dance in the midst of its feast of blood. All the excesses that are generally committed at such a period of national excitement, are chiefly owing to the want of this regulating ballast in the minds of the leading men. The perfect order and the almost overscrupulous fidelity to principles of honor and rectitude which characterized the Puritans of England also indirectly confirm the same truth. Reforms to be useful and beneficial must be associated with the purest and sublimest aspirations of our soul, or in other words, they must be dissociated from religion.

But as we deprecate mere social reform on the one hand, we also equally deprecate what people understand by religious reformation pure and simple, or the cherishing of pious sentiments without any regard for our individual and social lives. We would not honor any sentiment that does not improve the conduct, that does not sharpen the sympathies for redressing what is evil, that does not brace the will with the invincible strength of conscience to do the duty before us—we would not honor such a sentiment with the sacred name of piety. Call it mysticism, or call it by any other name; it is not piety. We fail to perceive the distinction between religious reformation pure and simple on the one hand, and mere social reform on the other. We for ourselves consider both of them intimately associated with each other, the one necessarily involving the other. They form in fact the two aspects of the theistic movement of India. If there be one thing more than another that imparts a character of peculiar interest to our movement it is its tendency to elevate and regenerate society. This social mission is also one of its guarantees of future success. India's present need is not for a religion, that will be the creed of the reclues, the ascetic, or the retired devotee, but a living faith that will reconstruct society on a purer basis and shed its lustre on every department of life. And Brahmoism aspires to encourage such practical piety.

It is necessary for the purity and integrity of our religious life, that there should be combination of faith and practice,

devotion and reform, ideas and actions. "It is surprising", says Dr. Martineau, "how practical duty enriches the fancy and the heart, and action clears and deepens the affections. Like the run into the green fields and morning air to the fevered limbs and tightened brow of the night-student, it circulates a stream of unspeakable refreshment, renew our strength as the eagles. Indeed no one can have a true idea of right, until he does it, and genuine reverence for it till he has done it often and with cost; any peace ineffable in it, till he does it always and with alacrity?

Let not the Brahmo then make a total distinction between religious reformation pure and simple and mere social reform. Wherever his lot may be cast, let him aspire to be a centre of higher and purer influences, let his very contract be ennobling, giving better notions and truer ideas of social life to all that come across him, let him by precept and example try to elevate the society in which he lives and moves, and as the proper place to begin, let him reform his home first—the scene of his everyday life, that little tract in society which contains his direct and nearest things upon earth. Side by side with his spiritual interests, with the fullest culture of his devotional feelings, let him also look to his social duties. Let his piety be deep, his trust in Providence complete, his devoutness of soul natural and sincere but let him also be bold and uncompromising in eschewing whatever is evil and shunning whatever is wrong and improper.

12 December 1878

CORRESPONDENCE

To The Editor of Brahmo Public Opinion

Dear Sir,

Many sincere and well-meaning Brahmos, especially a good number of such residing in the mofussil, deplore the

present split in the Brahmo Camp and its division into three parties. They deeply regret that a religion, which began with preaching the brotherhood of man, should lead to quarrels and dissensions and mutual bickerings and jealousies among its followers. They are however perfect men and that difference of opinion leads to the formation of parties. They do not so much lament difference of opinion as the non-existence of a common bond of union among all classes of Brahmos. Mr. Mahadeo Govinda Ranade, Subordinate Judge of Nasik, wrote to me under date the 29th August last :—"I take this opportunity of suggesting that the time has come when the subject of the separation or schism in the Brahmo faith, should attract the serious attention of all your leading reformers. Since the late unhappy disputes (he here alludes to the Kuch Behar marriage agitation) this necessity has increased a hundredfold. There is really nothing distinctive between the foundations of the three separate organizations in your city. The dispute relates to men and their government and has no justification for its continuance any longer in the bosom of a community which should give an example to the world of its catholic toleration and expansiveness....If your local schisms were made up, the foreign churches in the N. W. Provinces, Oude, and the independent movements, in our own part of the country will all consent to swell the union and we shall have realized the highest and noblest fruits of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy's labours in laying the foundations of a theistic movement broadcast—all over the country. Owing to your schisms, such a fusion becomes impossible. We cannot persuade ourselves that it is our duty to show a preference to any one of our parties, and this cautious and questioning spirit increases the alienation distrust of each other's love constancy. The work is, of course, a very arduous one....Let the three Churches conduct their worship separately and administer their funds and institutions separately, but let there be one confession of faith based on the foundations which Raja Ram Mohun Roy celebrated and which your Patriarch and yourself and Babu Keshub Chunder

Sen and the missionaries and Babu Shiva Nath Sastri and Babu Nobin Chunder Roy have laboured so well to complete. You may count upon receiving to the fullest extent the sympathies of the friends on this side of India. This is a subject which weighs much upon my mind. We are such a handful in the midst of opposing or indifferent multitude that it is sheer vanity to expect our labours will bear any fruit while this state of things is allowed to continue." In the Report of the last Anniversary gathering of the Prarthana Somaj at Ahmedabad held on December last, kindly forwarded to me by Rai Bahadur Bholanath Sarabhai, President of that Somaj, it is said that "a body of fellow-beings be status, keeping the same ends in view, and acting in the same direction to accomplish those ends should, for slight differences, either real or fanciful break up into violent parties arrayed against one another in the very place where it originated, is a circumstance full of melancholy foreboding and sufficient to bring upon its members the scorn and ridicule of the whole world." Rao Saheb Mahiput Ram Rupram, Secretary of the said Somaj, in his letter dated the 7th January last, says :— "If the Calcutta Brahmos were united they could do much more than they can in their present lamentable condition. Their internal quarrels jealousies and disruptions are very harmful. A united movement in all the provinces of India is highly desirable, nay, it is necessary for success, though perhaps under our present state, is not possible."

How could a common feeling of union so anxiously desired by well-meaning Brahmos of the same stamp as the writers of the noble letters quoted above, be promoted among the members of our community ? The three separate organizations, entertaining such different views and principles, cannot surely be placed under a common Board of Direction. I think the proposed union is feasible, if we make Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, the founder of our common Church, the centre of such union. That a union founded on such a centre is possible has been amply exemplified by the meeting that lately took place in the house of our Prodhan Acharya, Babu Debendra Nath

Tagore, to honor his memory. Brahmos of the time of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, Brahmos of the Adi Brahmo Somaj, Brahmos of the Brahmo Somaj of India, Brahmos of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj down to the most youthful members of our community who as yet belong to no party and are the really catholic Brahmos amongst us were present at the meeting. It was indeed a pleasant sight to behold. That the said meeting will bear such fruits was anticipated not only by the Brahmos of Calcutta but also by those of other places. Mr. Vaman Abaji Moduk, Principal of the Surat High School, a zealous Brahmo, wrote to me under date the 15th January last, "I look upon you as one of the few who thoroughly appreciated the noble life and labours of the illustrious founder of our church and hence I appeal to you in his name, whose memory you are all going to honor in a special way this year. I ask in the name of the great Rajah Ram Mohun Roy whether the present strife and division amongst you at Calcutta are agreeable to his spirit which must be watching over the Church with a paternal solicitude? How can you, thus divided, pray to worship God as his children? Cannot you and Babu Keshub and some moderate leader of the Sadharan movement heal up the differences and worship God and honour the memory of Ram Mohun Roy together. Dear brother! Try and God will help you." Mr. Yashwant Purshottam Manerikar, Secretary of the Bombay Prarthana Somaj says in his letter of the 3rd January last :— "We are sorry we cannot avail ourselves of this happy opportunity to go over to Calcutta and attend the meeting which comes off on the 19th instant in honour of the memory of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy but humbly hope that this solemn occasion will well serve to remind all the Brahmos connected with the three sections of the Brahmo Somaj of common cause they have solemnly espoused and feeling of the unity will at last germinate on the solemn occasion which all differences removed and forgotten, will subsequently result in a Re-union of the three sections." Brahmos of other places than Calcutta who anticipated such results from the meeting as are expressed in the above extracts

will be glad to see that their anticipations have been fulfilled.

It is to be highly desired that the meeting in honor of the memory of Rajah Ram Mohun Roy would settle down an annual institution.

Calcutta
The 16th February 1879. }

Yours truly,
Rajnarain Bose.

6 March 1879

THE DECCAN RYOTS BILL

THE Bill which has been introduced in the Legislative Council of India by the Hon'ble T. C. Hope, "for the relief of indebted agriculturists in certain parts of the Deccan", is a very important measure, and we should not be performing our duty, if we did not lay before our readers the main features of the Bill. Although it is intended to be a special measure to meet a special case, yet the details involved in it require the most careful examination by every well-wisher of India. The agriculturists as a class, whether in Bombay, Madras, Nort-West, or in Bengal, are more or less "indebted" to money-lenders, and hold land under very nearly the same conditions throughout India. At the present time agriculturists are in no part of India happy or prosperous. The sun of their prosperity has set, the very heaven are against them, even the soil has lost its former fertility. The causes to which the Hon'ble mover of the Bill ascribes the indebtedness of the Deccan roysts, viz., the "poverty which constrained them to borrow ; ignorance which made them victims of robbery ; soil observances which crippled their resources, and improvidence", their "diminished ability to repay", the Government demand for rent and other cesses, the "disappearance" of "waste lands", the "insufficiency" of "cattle and manure", the reduction of the average owing to the growing poverty of the soil—all these causes with a hundred others not named,

operate more or less, with ryots in all parts of India. Bengal ryots are timid and powerless, their Deccan brothers are physically strong and turbulent. They have by means of riot, plunder, and a host of other illegal acts succeeded in bringing their grievances to the notice of the Government, and are about to be secured against all manner of exactions by an act of the Imperial Legislature, but poor Bengal ryots ! there is none to care for them and to secure them against the extortionate demands of money-lenders. We do not deny the necessity of special legislation "for the relief of indebted agriculturists" but we do not say that the provisions of such legislation should be such as to give relief to indebted agriculturists throughout India. The provisions should be such as may bring Justice to the door of every peasant, without operating harshly against creditors or interfering with their vested legal rights. We are inclined to think that the measure proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Hope is a little 'one sided' as the Hon'ble Mr. Cockerell called it, and we hope that in passing through the Select Committee and through the hands of the Hon'ble Judges of the High Court of Bombay, it will be purged of many of its defects especially that of 'onesidedness'. The Hon'ble Mr. Hope has evidently a great veneration for past laws and regulations. He would, if it were in his power, reverse the existing state of things, and take us to the good old time, and "substitute for the blind and ruthless operation of legal machinery, the intelligent dispensation of Justice between man and man" by establishing the old "arbitration courts, usury law, and a long limitation for suits." He thinks that the Limitation Act and the Procedure Code of 1859 followed by the Stamp Act of 1860 were calculated "to aggravate the evil, initiated by the laws which reversed the old order of things. Every word of his speech betrayrs the most unreasonably conservative views. We have not forgotten the damaging remarks which he made regarding native subordinate Officers when the Civil Procedure Code of 1877 passed through the Select Committee. According to him, "the procedure is highly elaborate and technical ; the

penalties for contravention of it are severe ; and litigation dangerous, without the guidance of a pleader, whose services are costly and interests often at variance with those of his client.” No doubt he made these remarks with reference to the law obtaining in Deccan, but we dare say, his views are exactly the same with reference to the procedure in all parts of India. He has been greatly influenced by those views in framing the measure under notice. He has steered clear of the services of a pleader and also of the constituted regular tribunals of the land. The chief provisions of the Bill are that ;—All bonds not executed before village registrars are to be invalid. The money-lender is required under a penalty to furnish the ryots with an annual statement of account. Conciliators are to be appointed, and no suit is to be entertained in the civil courts against any ryot unless an attempt to settle the claim privately before the conciliators has failed. The question of arbitration courts is still under consideration. Village Patels, when competent, are to be invested, on the Madras system, with jurisdiction in money suits up to ten rupees. All Sub-judges to have Small Cause Court powers enlarged to include mortgage cases. First class jurisdiction is limited to Rs. 500 ; second, Rs. 100, or with consent Rs. 500. The courts are empowered to go against the bond when equity requires this. The old Bombay limitation law is restored. Arrest and imprisonment for debt is abolished. Specifically pledged land is alone made saleable in execution. Unpledged land may be managed by collectors for seven years. All the Sub-judges are granted insolvency powers. Insolvency is made declarable on the petition of the debtors or creditors and no proof of the fact that the liability exceeds the maximum of future earnings for seven years. No appeals are allowed from any decision under the Act, but through revision by the special Judge and assistants is allowed. The Sub-judges are increased from 24 to 36. The employment of Pleaders in petty cases is restricted. The Bill only applies to the four districts—Poona, Ahmednuggur, Sholapore, and Sattara.

Registration of all bonds has been made compulsory to prevent creditors (1) forging bonds, (2) withholding the consideration mentioned therein, (3) obtaining new bonds in satisfaction of old ones and of decrees, and nevertheless enforcing the latter; and to prevent debtors from pleading that bonds are false when they are really genuine. For this purpose, the registrar shall attest the execution, give a copy to the obligor, endorse on the original whether consideration passed or not, and make for identification any instrument which such original supersedes. The provision itself is not objectionable, but we are inclined to agree with the Hon'ble Syud Ahmed that it will not be at all convenient for the parties, and will not check fraud, more especially when these transactions are to be entrusted to "village-registrars" not likely to be men of education or good moral training. The provision is good but the instrument employed for carrying it out requires to be improved. The provision as to the appointment of conciliators is utterly useless, especially when the power of compelling the attendance of the defendant is taken away from them. This is based upon the recommendation of Sir John Strachey made 20 years ago, upon Mr. Custs' article in Calcutta Review published in 1870, and upon the suggestion of the Secretary of State. It is said to be borrowed from the French system, but curiously enough, the power which gave French conciliators authority to compel the attendance of the defendant, has been taken away from the Deccan conciliator. The absurdity of this absence of power grows more ridiculous when we look to the provision "that no litigation should commence without a certificate from the conciliator that his endeavours in this behalf have failed." We should like to see Courts of Justice having the power to summon witnesses without the power of compelling their attendance. Punchayets or arbitration courts, now pending consideration, would be far better tribunals. The next matter noticed in the Hon'ble mover's speech is that of investing village patels with jurisdiction to try suits up to Rs. 10, and giving subordinate Judges powers to try suits up to Rs. 500.

finally—without any appeal. This is a retrograde step, and has very justly been condemned by several of the speakers. No doubt “to place the Court of Law within easier distance from the homes of the people, and to make them more absolute, less technical, less dilatory and less expensive” are very desirable, but surely not at the sacrifice of Justice. To place the administration of Justice into the hands of village patels, innocent of law and procedure, perhaps, also blissfully ignorant and uneducated, is robbing Justice of its dues. Why should ordinary tribunals be deprived of their powers to try these suits, we cannot understand. These very subordinate Judges may do the same, instead of village Patels. Then the taking away of the right of appeal is another retrograde measure, which, although it fully tallies with the Hon’ble mover’s notions of law, is yet an unworthy piece of English legislation. We see how the powers of revision are totally ineffectual in Small Cause Court matters in Bengal; unless larger powers are given to a Court of revision of sifting facts, these powers prove to be merely nominal and ineffective. The most retrograde of all the provisions of the Bill, is the one about the Insolvency of the debtors. The only safe-guard against fraud—imprisonment for any fraudulent act—has been taken away. A man may conceal property, he may forge accounts, he may transfer all his goods and effects to another in trust for him, yet will the law shield and protect him and thereby set a high premium on fraud.

We regret we have only been able to go through the main provisions of the Bill very cursorily. We may have to revert to the subject hereafter.

31 July 1879

EDUCATION AND THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

EXTRAVAGANT as regards everything else, the generality of mankind seem to be very economical in the expenditure of thought. Time, energy, health, wealth are over-much exertion of the brain it the mass of men? People are exceedingly frugal in the use of the one article—intellect, and are sure not to employ it further than they can help it. We build our houses, construct our boats, make our furniture, frame our implements, cultivate our lands, and carry on our other industries very much after the methods our forefathers followed, without ever pausing to inquire whether better methods might not be found, or better results obtained in any other way.

Opinions, sentiments, and customs are handed down from generation to generation, and spread from individual to individual in the same generation, being adopted by each merely because they are adopted by others, and without any thought as to what their justification may be. In like manner, when a new institution is established, the founders take care to imitate an existing one, and save themselves the trouble of thinking out an entirely new scheme. The French, desirous to organise a society for the successful prosecution of scientific investigations, believed they could do no better than produce a French copy of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Our rulers, when they saw the necessity of giving to this country the benefits of a liberal education, had no better plan suggested to their minds than that of imitation of a University at Home. So we had here, and have still, a somewhat similar curriculum of study, a similar system of examinations, a similar restriction of age at matriculation, and other similar regulations, to those obtaining in the model academy. The structure completed was in time bequeathed by the founders to their successors. These gentlemen, receiving the sacred trust from the authors, could never of course, without impiety, call in question—could

not, without a superfluous expenditure of brain-power, learn to call in question, the efficiency of the fundamental parts of the institution, and have from time to time seen it necessary to introduce only changes of detail.

Is it irrational to expect that those who have taken upon themselves to legislate in educational matters in Bengal, must have a definite object in view with reference to which the University course of study and the University teaching have been organised ? If so, what object knowledge or discipline ?

Is it the aim to communicate to the student in the five years he spends at the University the most useful kind and amount of general information that he can acquire in the given time, for application in after-life ? If so, is it seriously believed that Lethbridge's 'India' and Taylor's 'Manual' and Green's 'Short History', and the M. A. course of historical study will furnish it ? Or that Roscoe's 'Chemistry' and Ganot's 'Physics' and a few other elementary manuals in Physical science will furnish the desired knowledge ? Or that the same will be acquired by a study of Max Muller on language and a few authors, English prose and poetry, or even by an acquaintance with a little of Psychology and History of Philosophy, or a little of pure and applied Mathematics ? No sensible man will, we believe say 'yes' to any of the above questions. Indeed, if useful knowledge be the object of general University instruction, law and medicine have a far stronger claim to a place in the curriculum of study than the whole world of Taylor's and Ganot's and Max Muller's and Milton's and Hamilton's and Todhunter's.

If, leaving the supposition that useful information is the sole or even the chief end our University has in view in forming its scheme of study, we adopt the other hypothesis that the end is a development of the mental powers and the formation of proper intellectual habits,—can any man believe—does even a member of the University believe, that this end is attained at present ? Does not the Syndicate know, or ought it not to know, how the several subjects are taught by most teachers and professors, European and Native ? Is it not known that

the mode of teaching practised by far the greater number of tutors has no reference to increase of mental power ? Does not the Syndicate know, or ought it not to know, the capacity of the average Indian student ? and that this, joined with the extent of study to be got through, and the limited time to get through it render impracticable all attempts on the part of the teacher to educate the reasoning or observing power of the pupil, even where the former is aware (which unfortunately he is not in the majority of cases) of the value of the attempt ? Does not the Syndicate know, or ought it not to know, that the examinations which it allows to be held are such as may without difficulty be passed by those who have a tenacious memory and a very ordinary intelligence ? Does not the Syndicate know or ought it not to know, that the little knowledge and no education properly so called, with which the average student leaves the University, are but a small compensation for injured health and lost elasticity of spirits, the price of the acquired knowledge ? Knowing all this, or since it ought to know all this, why does not the University mend matters or try to mend them ? True, reforms have been introduced from time to time, but such as they have been, they have left untouched the central evil. Subject of study may be *changed* : one text-book may be replaced by another. This, though necessary, is utterly insufficient. We hear that further and more extensive reforms are in contemplation by the University, aiming at a reduction of the *number* of the branches of knowledge to be studied simultaneously. This reduction, when effected, will be an important first step. But we are persuaded that there will be no radical improvement till the teachers and the professors (we include the Europeans as well as the Natives) *have been taught* Yes, we repeat, they require to be told till they are convinced that the highest benefit the University can confer is the development of power and formation of the right intellectual habits, and that in their own teaching of their boys this *should be attended to above all*. The University authorities are of course the only body who can undertake the task of teaching the

teachers. Not till this is effected, and class instruction and public examination modified accordingly, will academical instruction be at all what it ought to be.

14 August 1879

NATIVE CIVIL SERVICE

THE Hindoo Patriot in the issue of the 11th August makes an important announcement in regard to the employment of natives of this country in the Covenanted Civil Service. It says that "Lord Lytton had recommended that one-sixth of the Civil Service appointments on two-third pay should be given to natives, and these recommendations had been accepted by the Secretary of State." We also learn from the same paper that "the appointments will be made not by competition but by nomination." In the absence of authentic information upon these points we do not think it right to make any comments on the policy of the Government. Our own views upon the subject have been expressed more than once in a clear unmistakable form. And we should not have cared to advert to the topic but for the startling criticisms with which the *Patriot* has thought fit to announce the resolution of the Government. Unfortunately, no circular, despatch or minute under the seal and signature of the Government has been published by either the *Hindoo Patriot* or any other journal or any of the Gazettes. We are, therefore, not in a position either to understand or criticize the resolution over which our sober contemporary of the *Patriot* has gone into hysterics. But though we are inadequately informed as to the scope and purpose of the measure alleged to have been adopted by the Government we have ample material before us to judge of the sentiments of the *Hindoo Patriot* upon a matter which vitally affects some of the best interests of the people of India. We have been so deeply aggrieved by the tone the *Patriot* has assumed in respect to this measure that we scarcely know

how to deliver ourselves upon a subject of which we are so full. We cannot believe that a paper, generally so judicious, so astute and so independent, should have lost sight of facts and arguments which are clear as noonday light. At the same time it is preposterous to suppose that a journal so honest, so regardless of official favour and of the smiles of the huzoors could have anything but its own free conscience to guide it in forming its opinion.

The *Patriot* begins by observing that "Lord Lytton's administration is destined for more reasons than one to mark an epoch in the history of British Rule in India. Not the least is the fulfilment about to be made of the pledge of the more extended employment of the natives in the Covenanted Civil Service." To leave no doubt as to its views it speaks of the measure as being a "fair compromise" and bids our countrymen "feel deeply grateful to Lord Lytton for this valueable concession". In the name of the Indian people it presumes to say "the reduction of pay is a *sine quanon*, and we ought to acquiesce in it without murmur." At the same time our contemporary regrets that the "appointments will be made not by competition by the nomination." We must say that we do not think very highly of our contemporary's consistency or his practical wisdom. The same paper that has been systematically, and to its honour be it said, justly condemning the "Imperial" policy of Lord Lytton's Government, and has been heaping upon it the most opprobrious epithets from almost its very commencement does of all of a sudden feel so oppressed with accumulating debts of gratitudes that it is not ashamed to publicly relieve itself of its burden by observing that Lord Lytton's administration is "destined to mark an epoch in the history of British rule in India." The deep debt deepens yet more as Lord Lytton declares that a fresh subordinate service is to be created between Munsiffs, Deputy Magistrates and subordinate Judges on the one hand and the English Civil Servents on the other. Even an Englishman, and one who recently belonged to the Bengal Civil Service, had the acuteness to perceive and the generosity to declare in public

that men selected by examinations held in this country "might belong to the Civil Service but they would not be of it. They would inevitably be regarded as an inferior caste." That Englishman was Mr. Henry Bell. But our patriotic journal falls into a *deliquium* of love and admiration over a measure which, after all, is only a patchwork as useless as it is ugly. People of this country, that is, the educated people, have always been anxious that, previous to admission into the Covenanted Service natives should be submitted to the same tests as Europeans. No sensible native ever claimed for his countrymen any advantage over Europeans, so far as entry into the service was concerned. We must stand or fall by the same test. Who ever argued against competitive examinations on the ground that so few Indians had found their way into the Civil Service though it had been open to them for over twenty years? Natives, if they must enter the Civil Service, must pass the same tests, receive the same education, possess the same credentials, enjoy the same prestige and, therefore, get the same salaries as Englishmen. We never wanted to have in this country another branch of the subordinate service, distinguished from other branches only by the fact that it was "Covenanted". Then again, we fail to see how our contemporary can very well regret the "nomination system". If Indians are to be introduced into the service upon smaller pay, why should they pass a competitive examination? With whom is the competition to be? If the competition is with the English candidates there is no reason on earth why the native members of the service should not get the same pay and command the same respect as the European members. If the "competition" which our contemporary seeks is to be with natives of this country then it would perpetuate the very evil which the Government is so anxious to remove. The Government had always pretended that if natives must enter the Civil Service they must be men of rank and position and not mere book-worms. If "competition" is brought into vogue, the book-worms would surely get the better of the aristocratic candidates. It thus appears that the *Patriot* has

assailed the policy of the Government at the point where it is least vulnerable. If intending candidates for the Civil Service are never required to go to England and complete their education there, they must be selected by nomination, they must get lower pay and they must, as Mr. Bell said, constitute a separate and "inferior caste". Probably the *Hindoo Patriot* would defend itself by saying that the Indian Association which professes to represent the interests of the people wants the competitive examination to be held in this country. Unquestionably so. But the Indian Association also wants that the candidates selected after the examination should proceed to England to pass the probationary period there. It would indeed be surprising if the *Hindoo Patriot* should rely for its defence on the resolutions of the Indian Association. We should be sorry for that Association if its own well-meant and judicious proposals should be forced to justify views as impolitic as they are illiberal and unpatriotic.

14 August 1879

THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN OUR UNIVERSITY

IN a well-known passage Lord Macaulay describes how History should be written. "History, at least in its state of ideal perfection", says the distinguished essayist, "is a compound of poetry and philosophy." It impresses general truths on the mind by a vivid representation of particular characters and incidents. But, in fact, the two hostile elements of which it consists have never been known to form a perfect amalgamation; and at length, in our own time, they have been completely and professedly separated. Good histories, in the proper sense of the word, we have not. But we have good historical romances, and good historical essays. The imagination and the reason, if we may use a legal metaphor, have made partition of a province of literature of which they were formerly seized *per ma et per tout*: and now they hold

their respective portions in severalty, instead of holding the whole in common. To make the past present, to bring the distant near, to place us in the society of a great man or on the eminence which overlooks the field of a mighty battle, to invest with the reality of human flesh and blood beings whom we are too much inclined to consider as personified qualities in an allegory, to call up our ancestors before us with all their peculiarities of language, manners, and garb, to show us over their houses, to seat us at their tables, to rummage their old-fashioned wardrobes, to explain the uses of their ponderous furniture, these parts of the duty which properly belongs to the historian have been appropriated by the historical novelist. On the other hand, to extract the philosophy of history, to direct our judgment of events and men, to trace the connection of causes and effects and to draw from the occurrences of former times, general lessons of moral and political wisdom, has become the business of a distinct class of writers.

In writing a history two things should, therefore, be kept in view by the author—to convey that kind of information which can be made to furnish material for science and at the same time to be as agreeable and graphic as a novelist. But the former object is evidently more important than the latter—as much more as science is than temporary pleasure. Any historical work which fails to satisfy the first of the two conditions, though it may possess other merits, is much less of a History than that which satisfies it. The following expression of opinion by one of the highest thinkers of this age, while embodying the real amount of truth in Macaulay's statement, brings out more clearly what a treatise on history should be. "The thing it really concerns us to know, is the natural history of society. We want all facts which help us to understand how a nation has grown and organised itself. Among these, let us of course have an account of its Government; with as little as may be of gossip about the men who officered it, and as much as possible about the structure, principles, methods, prejudices, corruptions &c., which it

exhibited : and let this account include not only the nature and actions of the central Government, but also those of legal Government, down to its minutest ramifications. Let us of course also have a parallel description of the ecclesiastical Government, its organisation, its conduct, its power, its relations to the state ; and accompanying this, the ceremonial, creed, and religious ideas—not only those nominally believed, but those really believed, and acted upon. Let us at the same time be informed of the control exercised by class over class as displayed in social observances—in titles, salutations and forms of address. Let us know, too, what were all the other customs which regulated the popular life out of doors and indoors ; including those concerning the relations of parents to children. The superstitions, also from the more important myths down to the charms in common use, should be indicated. Next should come a delineation of the industrial system : shewing to what extent the division of labour was carried, how trades were regulated, whether by caste, guilds or otherwise ; what was the connection between the employers and the employed ; what were the agencies for distributing commodities ; what were the means of communication ; what was the circulating medium. Accompanying all which should be given an account of the industrial arts technically ; stating the processes in use and the quality of the products. Further, the intellectual condition of the nation in its various grades should be depicted, not only with respect to the kind and amount of education but with respect to the progress made in science and prevailing manner of thinking. The degree of aesthetic culture, as displayed in architecture, sculpture, painting, dress, music, poetry and fiction, should be described. Nor should there be omitted a sketch of daily lives of the people—their homes, their amusements and lastly, to connect the whole, should be exhibited the morals, theoretical and practical, of all classes ; as indicated in their laws, habits, proverbs, deeds. These facts given with as much brevity as consists with clearness and accuracy, should be so grouped and arranged that they may be comprehended in there *ensemble*,

and contemplated as mutually dependent parts of one great whole. The aim should be so to present them that men may readily trace the consensus subsisting among them ; with the view of learning what social phenomena co-exist with what others. And then the corresponding delineations of succeeding ages should be so managed as to show each belief, institution, custom, and arrangement was modified ; and how the *consensus* of preceding structures and functions was developed into the *consensus* of succeeding ones. Such alone is the kind of information respecting past time which can be of service to the citizen for the regulation of his conduct. The only history that is of practical value is what may be called Descriptive Sociology. And the highest office which the historian can discharge, is that of so narrating the lives of nations as to furnish materials for a Comparative Sociology ; and for the subsequent determination of the ultimate laws to which social phenomena conform."

Such being the ideal of History, the first question that presents itself is—Do the text-books in use on the subject in schools and colleges answer the above description ? The most decided reply is, "No." So far from being of the required kind, there are very few amongst the so-called historians even who have realised the importance of History as above put forth. If they have done so, we should not have such manuals in existence as the students' Hume, and Taylor's Ancient History, and Lethbridge's India, and even Edith Thompson's History of England. If the historians had been anything of an historian, we should not have the painful and astounding fact thrust on our notice that manuals for young boys are deliberately made more full of valueless matter and less interesting than manuals for advanced students.

Why do the grave Senate of our University and the Head-masters of schools prescribe the study of such books ? What is the sin of which the boys would seem to be guilty, and of which the study of these manuals is the atonement ? Why should a boy's time and energy be allowed—nay, forced—to be wasted over such work ? Is it that the presual of the

aforesaid manuals and their like is a means of the acquisition of a good style ? If so, we should do away with the study of a separate course in English literature ? Is it that these books serve as so many exercises to the memory ? This would be a sufficient answer if all the really useful knowledge that a boy could require were insufficient as memory exercise. Will anyone have the hardihood to say so ?

Are all the facts of Chemistry, of Mineralogy, of Descriptive Botany and Zoology, the simpler portions of Law, the Pathology of Diseases, previously mastered, and found inadequate exercise for the retentive faculty, and is it then that a boy takes to the study of the valuable historical text-books at present in use ?

We do not mean that these treatises contain no facts of value. Our meaning is, that the number of those that have some worth is very small compared with those that have none, and that in consequence an immense deal of time and energy is wasted in mastering the whole body of statements contained in each book—time and energy which a boy can ill-afford to spend in vain. It may be said that the useful facts that are mastered along with the useless ones, few as they (the former) are, may serve after the academic career is over, as a foundation on which to raise the fabric of really valuable historic information. True, but when the object may be attained in a such shorter time than is spent at present—attained, we venture to say, in half as many months as are the years now consumed over the work. From the fifth form of the school where a boy's reading in History usually commences, it takes him generally no less than five years to go up to the third year's college class, and all that he learns of real History in this period might be communicated to him in five months if the teachers had a sufficiently clear view of the utility of the subject ; and the waste we complain of would have been obviated if the Headmasters were more regardful of the pupil's interests than they usually are, if the Senate were more reflective and more mindful of its sacred duty, and abstained from appointing non-sensical text-books for study, and required the examiners to be more rational.

But the waste of time is not the only evil. By the time that he has risen to the B. A. class, the *average student* forgets most of what he learnt in History before. And all that he remembers is little more than what might, in these days of diffused knowledge, be gathered from conversation alone, apart from the study of any book. This unfortunate result occurs because, striving to retain in memory the whole mass of events contained in his text-book, the student can allot but a small amount of time to the really important facts—facts of which he very often does not know the importance till a later period of his life, because his examiner does not want them.

In the B. A. and M. A. classes, though the text-books are better than in the lower classes, yet the real end of historic knowledge is missed, and that through the ignorance of the teachers and the examiners. The latter often require information of a kind that has little value. The former have often no idea of what their proper work is. How many of our University instructors (we include the Europeans) know, or knowing could execute, their duty as professors of History? What that duty is, a most eminent thinker has declared as follows. “The leading facts of ancient and modern History should be known by the student from his private reading : if what knowledge be wanting, it cannot possibly be supplied in the University. What a Professor of History has to teach, is the meaning of those facts. His office is to help the student in collecting from History what are the main differences between human institutions of society, at one time or place and at another : in picturing to himself human life, and the human conception of life, as they were at the different stages of human development : in distinguishing between that is the same in all ages and what is progressive, and forming some incipient conception of the causes and laws of progress. All these things are as yet imperfectly understood even by philosophic inquirers. The object is to lead the student to attend to them ; to make him take interest in History not as a mere narrative, but as a chain of causes and effects still unwinding itself before his eyes, and full of momentous

consequences to himself and his descendants ; the unfolding of a great epic or dramatic action, to terminate in the happiness or misery, the elevation or degradation, of the human race."

It is to be expected that the student will, by his unaided sagacity, discover the importance of what method of studying history of which his attention is drawn neither by the questions of the Examiner nor by the lectures of the Professor. That the extrication of general laws from among the mass of individual facts presented is the real object of studying history, is often not distinctly realised by the student till he leaves the University. We are speaking of our University. And by the time that he knows this and has sufficiently developed the power of forming a generalisation, he has in many cases forgotten the individual facts which he knew : when he has to set to work anew to collect the required data. Thus his previous study of history proves but of little service, while contrariwise it has been of great deal of dis-service, by having caused an expenditure of time and energy which might have been more usefully employed (while in the University) in other directions.

9 October 1879

LAST WORDS ON THE HINDU PATRIOT

REVIEWING the two months' controversy in regard to the new Civil Service rules, we find that the view which the *Hindu Patriot* has taken of them is utterly absurd and inconsistent. It is all very well to publish to the world by fits and starts plausible opinions on detached points, but no one ought to pronounce upon the merits of a scheme without considering it as a whole. Our own scheme we endeavoured to set forth in an article published in our last issue. We may say once for all that the new rules are perfectly *consistent*. They are the necessary outcome of a particular policy. But we take exception to

the whole policy. We consider the rules to be utterly irrelevant, because nobody wanted them. When a man is dying of thirst in a wilderness, shall he thank heaven if a number of rupees is showered upon his head ? Yet who will not say that rupees are very good things in their way ?

We shall endeavour to put together the opinions which the *Patriot* has expressed from time to time and so discover the scheme he has in his mind. The *Patriot* has come to see at last that the new rules do not open to us the covenanted service, because there is no covenant anywhere to be found. Mrs. Glasse's first direction in her *recipe* for making hare soup is,—to catch the hare. A gentleman of the *Patriot*'s experience would have done well to remember this practical advice. Well now, if the rules do not profess to admit us into the covenanted service, what reason is there for mirth and jubilation ? What is the value now to be attached to the pompous announcement that "Lord Lytton's administration is destined to mark an epoch in the history of British India" ? Evidently, the two opinions of the *Hindu Patriot* are not consistent.

The views of the *Patriot* in regard to the question of probation in England were sufficiently criticised in our last number. It is absurd to talk of leaving it to the option of selected candidates to pass the period of probation here or in England. Candidates selected by nomination in this country *will not be allowed* by the Secretary of State to undergo the same probation as those selected by competition in England. Even if the permission were given to them, they would be in an anomalous position after their return to this country. How are their claims to be compared with those of men who served their term in this country ? And what power would the Viceroy have in regard to their permanent admission into the service ? Would he be able to reject them ? In view of these difficulties we have always held that the question raised by the *Patriot* in regard to probation could only arise if men were selected by competition in this country, and if the real covenanted service were open to them. If men are selected

by nomination and are, for that and other reasons made members of *subordinate* service, the probation must be undergone here. Why should a person go to England with no hope of material good ; and if he did go to England where could he get an office to hold, for the purpose of proving his merit ? The *Patriot's* views in regard to this question are inconsistent and absurd.

The *Patriot* thinks he stands on perfectly safe ground when he takes exception only to the principle of nomination. But it is strange that one of his insight and sagacity should fail to see that all the other conditions of the new service *depend upon* the recognition of nomination as the method of selection. It is impossible to admire the new rules and at the same time wish nomination to be replaced by competition. To condemn the original principle is to condemn all the subordinate details. The questions of pay and probation depend upon the method of selection. If men are selected by nomination, then the period of probation must be passed there because there would be no good going to England ; and secondly, the pay must also be smaller than that of covenanted civilians. If men are selected by competition, then the probation ought to be passed in England because otherwise the advantages of passing the examination would be nil ; and thirdly, all the rights and privileges of all service shall be enjoyed by them as a matter of right. The only reason why candidates should be selected by competition is that they may enter the real covenanted service and may not constitute a separate caste from the English civil servants. But to enter the covenanted service, it is not enough that a competitive examination should be passed, but that the period of probation should be passed in England. A memorial has been sent to Parliament asking for a competitive examination to be held in this country. But there has been no memorial asking for liberty to pass the period of probation *here*. Intellectual fitness may be tested by a competitive examination held in any part of the world ; but for the due discharge of high official functions, other qualities than scholarship are required. And the English people think

that these other qualities are better developed by education in England than by education in India.

The *Patriot* forgets that it is part of the policy of the new rules to cajole men in Government service, and such men cannot be subjected to a competitive examination. It is also the policy of the rules to leave the choice of men entirely to the discretion of the Viceroy ; but no such discretion could exist if the system of examinations were introduced. We say once more, that the *Patriot* by taking exception to the principle of nomination makes his eulogy of the new rules *entirely nul and void*, because every detail of the rules must ultimately rely for its justification upon that fundamental principle. We have said enough to show the utter confusion of ideas which the *Patriot* has displayed in discussing the rules. But there is one other fact we have yet to notice.

The *Patriot*, if he really wishes a competitive examination to be held in this country for admission into the covenanted service, makes a great blunder by applauding the authors of the new rules. Natives of India can enter the Civil Service by passing a competitive test in England. They can under the new rules obtain some of the appointments ordinarily held by civilians without having to proceed to England. And, humanly speaking, is it at all likely that the English Parliament should grant us a third privilege ? Those who want a competitive examination to be held here have simply cut their own throats by admiring the wisdom and beneficence of the new rules. How many doors do the Indian people want for entering the Civil Service ?—this is what the English people will ask. Does not the *Patriot* see clearly that the rules are virtually nothing more than a reply to the memorial which has gone up to Parliament ? Further reply we cannot expect. It is difficult to believe that the *Patriot* is in earnest when he says that a competitive examination should be held in this country. For in that case he should have known that his articles hailing the new rules with unbounded delight would work incalculable mischief. Parliament would think our highest aspirations were satisfied and it would reasonably

argue that further privileges than what we had actually got, we could not expect.

By Act 21 and 22 Vict. C. 106 it was declared that the Secretary of State in Council should make regulations for admission of candidates to the *Civil Service of India* (S. 32). By Act Vict. C. 3 it was declared that the authorities in India might appoint any native of India *to any office, place or employment* in the Civil Service of India, subject to certain conditions (S. 6). It is clear from these two sections that the Governor-General cannot *declare* that the competitive examination shall be held in this country. If we want that privilege, we must move the English Parliament. If the *Patriot* does sincerely want that privilege, he cannot very well regard the necessity of agitation in English as a private concern of the Indian Association. He has said times without number that we must enter the service by competition in India ; at the same time he does not seem inclined in the least to help that movement which alone can culminate in the acquisition of the privilege. This is really a marvel ! The *Patriot* says "Young blood is hot." We are ready to grant that "Old blood is cold" but the *Patriot* has not given us sufficient evidence to justify us in saying that "Old head is logical."

To admire the rules to condemn the Indian Association is like finding fault with Hercules because he did not perform more feats than twelve. For nobody has been so active as the Indian Association in the discussion of the Civil Service question ; and the new rules are the fruit of the exertions of that Association. It has "flogged a dead horse" not in vain. We feel it necessary to say in conclusion that this journal is not an organ of the Indian Association. The system of "organs" is not an English but a French institution, and one which we sincerely abominate. We hope the Indian Association has not sunk so low as to be unable to do without an "organ" ; and we hope we have not sunk so low as to be unable to make our voice heard without pretending to be the spokesmen of an Association. We admit, however, that when a paper styles itself the organ of some association it has

the privileges of talking nonsense with impunity because the nonsense cannot be fastened upon any particular individual. It is amusing to find the *Hindu Patriot* speaking not only in the name of the "landed gentry" (whom it undoubtedly represents) but also in the name of the "orthodox community." Are there no orthodox Hindus besides the few gentlemen who compose the British Indian Association? The *Hindu Patriot* holds out the threat that if the "landed gentry" are abused they will not "bring grist to the mill" and will not contribute towards the expenses of a deputation in England. As we read this threat we begin to congratulate ourselves that we are not an independent people but are living under English rule. How dreadful it would have been to live under the Government of sensitive gentlemen who refuse to "bring grist to the mill" when their lethargy is upbraided and their errors reproved? If Lord Lytton, Sir Ashley Eden and the other members of Government were so touchy as the *Patriot* represents the "landed gentry" to be, they could have made our lives unbearable by this time. What would become of the *Hindu Patriot* if the Governor-General took serious notice of the "abusing and maligning" of high officials by that paper? In a very short time he could make even the "mill" of the *Patriot* lamentably short of "grist."

16 October 1879

LORD LYTTON AND THE NATIVES

LORD Lytton's despatches on the appointment of natives of India to the Covenanted Civil Service and Lord Cranbrook's despatches in answer thereto have now been published. It would be impossible to review with any approach to completeness the numerous opinions and arguments stated in these massive documents. But with a view to inform the public mind on the real scope and object of the new rules and to

determine the amount of credit due to Lord Lytton for whatever is good in them we shall make a few extracts from the despatches and offer such comments as may be absolutely necessary. It will be remembered that the rules were first authoritatively announced to us by the Press Commissioner's telegram dated August 12, 1879. The telegram was very cautiously worded and, as we noticed at the time, every single word in it bore a deep significance. It stated that the Secretary of State had sanctioned Lord Lytton's proposals in regard to the admission of Natives to certain appointments ordinarily held by Covenanted Civil Servants. We observed that this form of stating the matter implied two facts; first, that to Lytton was due the credit for whatever was wise and generous in the rules, and secondly, that there was no friction in high quarters, but that there was the completest harmony between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. The despatches are now before us and we can judge for ourselves. Lord Lytton's original idea was the creation of a close Native Civil Service which should have a monopoly of certain appointments removed from the list of those now reserved to the Covenanted Service and also of certain other appointments now held by the Uncovenanted Service. He also proposed that appointments to this new Service should be made by nomination and that it should be remunerated on rates of pay less than those of the Covenanted Service. Another suggestion of his is so characteristic and so well calculated to determine the measure of our thankfulness to him, that we quote it verbatim. "In the opinion of the Government of India, and of the most of officers who have been consulted it is desirable that when this Special Native Service is constituted the ordinary Covenanted Civil Service should no longer be open to natives." This was a pill too big and too bitter for even the Secretary of State to swallow. He politely declined to take the responsibility of moving Parliament for the certain of a close "Special Native Service" or for the abolition of the right of natives to enter the Covenanted Service by the door of open competition. One other instance of the harmony between the Government

of India and the Home Government is the following. Of the rules submitted by the Government of India for the approval of the Secretary of State, the third rule ran thus : "Persons admitted under these rules to employment in the said Service shall not, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council in each case, be appointed to any of the undermentioned offices namely :—Members of a Board of Revenue, Secretaries to the several Governments and Administrations in India, Chief Magisterial, or Chief Revenue officers of District Commissioners of Division or of Revenue." Lord Cranbrook directed the omission of the above rule on the following ground : "As it is obvious that selection for high office must always be based on fitness and efficiency, it is undesirable to lay down any rules on the subject." We should not be very rash if we asserted that though the above proposal of Lord Lytton's has been rejected, there is little hope for natives of India to obtain admission into any of the appointments named above. One other passage we shall quote from Lord Lytton's despatch of 1st May 1879. Many of our readers will remember that Lord Lytton in a speech which he made at a convocation of the Calcutta University expressed his regret that the pledge given to us by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 remained inadequately redeemed. Such a kindly display of pathos was scarcely ever made by any other Governor-General. We gathered hope and courage. We felt that there was no use regretting because so great a personage as Lord Lytton shared our regrets and expressed his readiness to redeem the old pledge over which we had sighed and sobbed so long. The passage we are about to quote expresses with remarkable force and elegance the generous, statesmanlike and original idea which Lord Lytton conceived for the redemption of the pledge. That we may not mar its literary beauty and may not stint our readers in the pleasure they will undoubtedly derive from its perusal we shall quote it in full : "The difficulty—indeed the utter impossibility—of getting European officers of position and education to serve cheerfully and successfully in subordination to

natives of India, is one which whether may be thought of it from an abstract point of view, any one with personal experience of India will underestimate. In regard to the executive work of a district, this difficulty is, we do not hesitate to say, practically insuperable. So long as natives can obtain admission to the Covenanted Service by competition, this difficulty will be liable to arise, and the only complete remedy would be to close the competitive service by law to natives of this country." It is easy to discover from this passage what Lord Lytton thinks to be the real aim and object of the new rules. Subordinate posts must be occupied by some persons, and if it is difficult or impossible for European officers to serve in subordination to natives, the natural inference is that natives must invariably serve in subordination to European officers. And if the difficulty or the impossibility that Lord Lytton speaks of, must arise if natives are admitted into the Covenanted Service, then it follows that instead of giving us new facilities for admission into that Service he feels it his duty to endeavour to shut us completely out of it. His fundamental axiom is that if natives are raised in the Service, Europeans must be raised higher still, for under all circumstances and through all eternity natives must occupy subordinate posts. We hope our worthy friend of the Hindu Patriot now sees what he ought to have seen long ago that the new rules do not open to us the Covenanted Service and, so far from making a generous concession, make it possible for ungenerous Englishmen to ask for the withdrawal of a concession made twenty-six years ago. It is gratifying to find that Lord Cranbrook takes a broader view of the question than Lord Lytton. He says : "I am quite alive to the force of your arguments in paragraph 33 as to what you term the impossibility of officers of position serving cheerfully and successfully in subordination to Natives of India, though I observe that in Egypt, in Turkey and even in India itself English gentlemen of the highest character are not unwilling to accept subordinate positions under Native authorities. But the right of admission of Natives to the Civil Service gives no claim to any particular

class of office, and every appointment must be determined in reference to what the public interests require." Lord Cranbrook's despatch of the 17th November 1878 bears ample testimony to the correctness of our view of the new rules. In recounting the advantages of the new scheme he says : "In as much as it will exclude no civilian at present in India from any office which he has a moral claim to expect, it will avoid any clashing with the vested interests of the Civil Service." If all civilians at present in India will rise to the same posts as they would have obtained if the new rules had not been passed, it is clear that these rules are not intended to be the means of introducing natives into the charmed circle of the Covenanted Service. The Viceroy's despatch of the 1st May 1879 contains an important paragraph giving the true legal interpretation of certain clauses in S. 6 of 33 Vict. C. 3, the Act under which the new rules are framed. In an article entitled "A Plain View of the Civil Service Rules" which appeared in our issue of the 9th October last we had occasion to observe that the Governor-General had no power to throw open to us unreservedly the Covenanted Service. The Act of 1870 empowered him to appoint natives of India "to any office, place or employment in the Civil Service of Her Majesty in India." We endeavoured to show that it was unreasonable to ask the Governor-General, as the Hindu Patriot has asked, to make arrangements for a competitive examination being held in this country. The Governor-General cannot appoint a man to the Covenanted Service, but he can only appoint a man to a particular office in the Service. In another article entitled "Last Words on The Hindu Patriot" which appeared in our issue of the 16th October we quoted portions of S. 32 of Act 21 and 22 Vict. C. 106, and S. 6 of 33 Vict. C. 3 and went on to say, "It is clear from these two sections that the Governor-General cannot declare that the competitive examination shall be held in this country. If we want that privilege, we must move the English Parliament." We are happy to find that we were not mistaken in putting this construction. The Viceroy's despatch says : "The question suggested itself

whether Natives selected in India could be appointed to the Civil Service just as persons selected by competition at home are appointed to that Service ... We find that the Statute and the opinion of the law officer speak of "employment in the Civil Service" and not "appointment to the Civil Service." It seemed however that intention of the Statute and the practical requirements of the case could be sufficiently met if we submitted for your Lordship's sanction, under Section 6 of the Statute, rules for the appointment of Natives of India to Offices ordinarily held by members of Her Majesty's Covenanted Civil Service." Any man who understands English will see from the above passage what the sleepy Patriot is determined not to see, namely, that the rules submitted by the Government of India and sanctioned by the Secretary of State do not open to us, as indeed they could not open to us, the Covenanted Civil Service. They only create what Lord Lytton calls in his felicitous diction a "Special Native Service" distinct from and subordinate to the Covenanted Service. We repeat what we once said before that the questions we have got to decide are questions "not of feeling or opinion but of logic and legal interpretation." Lovers of nationality are welcome to maintain intact their caste, but let them not delude themselves into the belief that by being appointed under the new rules they rise to the level of the Covenanted Civilians. "The Statutes, not we, have laid down the qualifications for the Civil Service... It is all very well to talk of the feeling of the orthodox nation, but the nation is not a nation of lawyers. The nation has no choice; it must go by the Statutes." Whoever wants to be a Covenanted Civilian must even now have to cross the Kala pani. Where then is the "generous concession" which the orthodox community has got? We have already boasted sufficiently, but we must confess we are so elected by the signal fulfilment of our prophecies and by the discovery that what we considered to be the real import of the rules is literally true in every single particular that we cannot restrain the desire to boast once more. We said in a recent article that "those who want a

competitive examination to be held in this country have simply cut their own throats by admiring the wisdom and beneficence of the new rules. How many doors do the Indian people want for entering the Civil Service?—this is what the English people will ask.” How completely is our prediction verified! The Englishman in a leading article in its issue of the 1st instant regrets that “the result of the rules is to set up an invidious distinction alike unjust and offensive to British born subjects of Her Majesty by conferring on natives of India privileges denied to them.” We have so high a respect for the practical good sense of our contemporary that we cannot regard this remark otherwise than as a stroke of policy. It is sought to ingratiate the rules into our favour by effecting to be indignant over the injustice done to Englishmen. The device is exceedingly like that employed by women who lull the suspicions of their husbands by giving themselves the airs of jealous views. But we are for one reason glad that the Englishman has so expressed itself. It will teach the Hindu Patriot a lesson. It is only the atrocious bungling of that purblind journal that has given Englishmen an opportunity for asking that the right to enter the Covenanted Service should be taken away from us. If ever the day should come when we should be deprived of that dearly cherished privilege, the only persons that shall have to answer for that calamity will be the Hindu Patriot and his sympathizers. There was a time when the Patriot had a perfect right to call itself the exponent of educated native opinion. Whether it still occupies that high place, it is for the people to judge. For our own part we do not hesitate to state our deliberate opinion that in the discussion of the Civil Service rules it has displayed a weakness and inconsistency, a lack of political insight, and a disregard of popular sentiment sufficient to make its opinions altogether nugatory.

6 November 1879

THE POLICE ADMINISTRATION OF BENGAL

WE see from Mr. Monro's able report on the Police of the Lower Provinces for 1878 that on the 1st of April last year the strength of the Bengal Police was reduced to the extent of 59 Inspectors, 8 Sub-inspectors, 151 Head Constables, 1205 Constables and 28 Sowars. These reductions were carried out with Mr. Monro's characteristic vigour and discrimination ; and they resulted in a total saving of Rs. 2,16,604 per annum without impairing the efficiency of the force such as it was. If every branch of admission were presided over by able, energetic and discerning men like the present Inspector-General of the Bengal Police, the gain to the public interests would be immense. We notice that during the year under report the total number of punishments inflicted on members of the Police force in Bengal was 4,513 as compared with 4,792 in 1877 and 5,094 in 1876. Although there has been a decrease during the past three years in the number of departmental punishments, the number of convictions under the Penal Code has increased during the same period. The convictions rose from 332 in 1875 to 380 in 1878. During the past year two Sub-inspectors, three Constables, and ten Constables of the regular Police force were convicted of causing hurt or wrongful confinement in order to extort confessions. The Inspector-General expressed his belief that this class of cases is rapidly disappearing. But Sir Steuart Baley does not concur in this opinion. The Resolution of the Bengal Government makes the following pertinent remarks on this point :—The Lieutenant-Governor trusts that this is so ; but, although the number convicted does not accurately indicate the amount of crime, it appears to be the only criterion available. In most cases when a Police officer is convicted of extorting or attempting to extort a confession or of fabricating false evidence, it may be assumed that it is not his first offence. The aim of the Police officer is to gain a good reputation as a detective, and this cannot be secured by a conviction in a

solitary case. The one case in which a conviction is probably only the last in a series of cases in which the Policeman has escaped detection. This view has been confirmed by the disclosures that have taken place in the Gya district, where it has been proved that some of the Police have for years been engaged in the commission of dacoities, mail robberies, and other offences, with the chief object of gaining a reputation for detective ability by securing the convictions of innocent persons for the crimes that they themselves had committed or caused to be committed." The correctness of this view will be readily acknowledged by every person acquainted with the actual circumstances of the country. What recently occurred in Gya should open the eyes of the authorities to the real character of the Police. What took place in Gya cannot, we fear, be considered a solitary or exceptional case.

The total number of cognizable offences reported during the past year was 113,621 as compared with 108,989 in 1877 and 117,559 in 1876. There was an increase in the number of offence against property. For this increase have been assigned various causes. The Lieutenant-Governor, in our opinion, takes a correct view of the case, when he says "that high prices and consequent distress among the non-agricultural classes afford a true and sufficient explanation." In nearly every district in Bengal the prices of the staple food grains were higher last year than in the scarcity year 1874. Out of a total of 113,621 cases reported in 1878, 12,302 cases were declared false and struck off. But different systems were followed in different districts in this matter. In some districts such as Backergunge and Rungpore the percentages of cases struck off as false to cases reported were as high as 28; while the percentage in some other districts such as Darjeeling, Maldah, Dinagepore, Bankoora, Mymensingh, Champarun, Lohardagga and Singbham were below 5. These discrepancies at once show that no weight is to be attached to the declaration of cases as false. Mr. Monro justly remarks that "it is obviously useless to present to Government statistics of false cases

and comment on percentage when the very plain instructions contained in the circular on false cases are disregarded." The Government Resolution rightly observes that "until uniformity of system is adopted in declaring cases to be false, it is useless to compare with those cases the number of prosecutions instituted for complaints." The number of cases declared false in each district depends on the idio-syncrasies of the magisterial staff of that district. The percentage of convictions obtained was 36.1 as against 28.05 in 1877 and 39.2 in 1876. This falling off in the general percentage of convictions, however, occurred in cases under the miscellaneous laws. Leaving these cases aside the percentage of convictions to true cases investigated was 23.5 against 23.4 in 1877. The Government Resolution remarks :—"Taking into consideration the fact that there was an increase in the proportion of cases investigated, it follows that the improvement was somewhat greater than the figures just given indicate, but the results of the investigation of crime in Bengal cannot be reported as satisfactory." Of 101,039 persons arrested in 1878, 59.5 per cent. were convicted as compared with 59.3 in 1877 and 59 in 1876. Of the amount of property stolen during the year 31.1 per cent. was recovered against 31.8 in 1877 and 31.2 in 1876. Of offences against property, the result of the Police action in dacoity cases was most unsatisfactory. Convictions were obtained in only 40 cases out of 188 and against 213 persons out of 872 placed upon their trial. Not a single conviction in dacoity cases was obtained in many districts.

The results of Sir Ashley Eden's orders condemning the wholesale prosecution and imprisonment of persons suspected of bad livelihood, are now observable. The number of persons tried under sections 504 and 505 of the Criminal Procedure Code during 1878 was only 1,216 against 3,173 in 1877 and 5,154 in 1876. Of those tried, 64 per cent. were convicted against 69 per cent. in the previous year. It appears that in these cases the most unsatisfactory results were obtained in those districts where the orders for local investigation by the Magistrate were ignored. "From the

returns before the Government", observes the Government Resolution, "it would appear that when it is known that the trial will be held in the village of the accused both the Police and private persons are afraid to institute false charges of bad livelihood, while, when it is known from the practice of the Magistrate that the cases will be tried in Court away from the villages of the accused, the law is at once turned into an engine of oppression, and used for the gratification of private spite. The results in the Dacca Division show this very clearly. Out of 156 cases instituted on Police reports, there were convictions in only 67. In the whole division only 13 cases were tried in the villages of the accused, and as the natural result false charges of bad livelihood were brought forward without fear, in the certainty that no proper enquiry would be held." The public is indebted to Sir Ashley Eden for putting a stop to the wholesale prosecution and imprisonment of persons against whom there was mere suspicion of bad livelihood. A fertile source of oppression has been dried up, and a great scandal removed.

13 November 1879

THE STATESMAN ON BABU KESHUB CHUNDER SEN

We are exceedingly glad that our esteemed contemporary the *Statesman* has found time "to watch and study the operation of the social and spiritual forces" in India which undoubtedly "have a deeper and more lasting influence on the progress of humanity than the rise and fall of Governments or even of Empires." It behoves journalists occupying prominent positions now and then to throw aside politics to note the social and spiritual influences which are at work among the people in the midst of whom their lot has been cast. We are glad therefore that the doings and sayings of the *quondum* Brahmo leader and "the minister" of the Brahmo Somaj of India as weekly revealed in the *Sunday Mirror* have attracted the attention of our respected contemporary. Ever since the *Kuch Behar*

marriage—ever since the doctrine of *Adesh* has been openly pleaded in defence of an idolatrous baby marriage, “the minister” of the Brahmo Somaj of India has been revealing himself in the pages of the *Sunday Mirror*. He has taken a desperate leap. He has driven men of ordinary sense and intelligence, to whatever religious denomination they may belong, to one conclusion *viz.*, that “he is either a Prophet or an Impostor.” This is the conclusion at which our thoughtful contemporary of the *Statesman* has arrived and indeed there can be no other conclusion. If the utterances in the devotional column of the *Sunday Mirror* be true then is undoubtedly Mr. Sen a Prophet. But if these utterances are merely the ravings of wild imagination produced by disappointment, loss of power, prestige and position—if they are indicative of the last struggles to regain the position he has lost—now supplicating the Lord for mercy to a poor sinner, now hurling defiance at his antagonists, and in the name of the Lord hurling thunder and lightning on their devoted heads—if they are meant to decoy unwary and uneducated people into the snare of his Prophetism, then we say Mr. Sen is a worse impostor than has ever seen the light of day. In these degenerate days, audacity, impudence of the blackest dye, oftentimes triumph over ignorant people. They are carried away by the super-natural nature of the position taken. Instances of this kind may be mentioned by hundreds. There is scarcely a village in Bengal in which a person is not worshipped for having got a *Hari* or some other God or Goddess. People crowd there by thousands to pay their homage to the man. He professes even to cure incurable diseases, and strange to say, people go to him and get cured without any medicine. Mr. Sen does not pretend to have got a *Hari*, but God himself. The Lord directs him to eat, to drink, to go on expeditions, aye even to marry his daughter according to idolatrous rites. As a minister he holds his sunnund of appointment from the Most High, and when the Brahmos were asking him to resign his ministry and secretaryship to the Brahmo Somaj of India, he did not make it a secret that he

had been commanded by the Lord not to do so, as no other worthy successor could be found. What is this man, if his sayings are true, if not a Prophet? These sayings do not find a place in the *Sunday Mirror*, but are circulated in the *Dharma Tatwa*, the Bengali organ of Mr. Sen. Our English contemporaries have therefore very little opportunity of ascertaining the depth to which Mr. Sen has sunk. But the *Sunday Mirror* is enough for right-minded and impartial critics like the *Statesman* to form a correct estimate of Mr. Sen as a religious teacher. But Mr. Sen like all fanatics and religious leaders whoever laid many claims to supernatural honors, has got a small circle of followers who are prepared to follow him through 'thick and thin'. To them "the minister's personality is absolutely essential," as the *Statesman* justly observes, and "he is either the strength or the weakness of his Sect." Our contemporary has uttered a solemn truth in the following lines :—"If Mr. Sen is great enough to rank among the Immortals, to bequeath his personality and the living force of his genius and character to futurity, so that though dead he may speak to coming generations, that his name may be a watchword and battle-cry and symbol of truth to those that follow after him, then his Church will also live as a considerable unit among the social and spiritual forces in the India of the future. If he is less than this, his Church must of necessity die with him, for he is its key-stone, without which it must topple down in fragments. It is the Church of Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, or nothing. We are not protesting against the prominence of the "Minister" in his own Church. What we say is, that if he is worthy of the prominence which is given to him, to his sayings and doings and sufferings, in the *Sunday Mirror*—and we presume, therefore, in all the proceedings of his Church—he must be one of the Immortals, destined to live in future ages as the fellow of the great founders of the world's religions. If he has not this worthiness, then the adulation of him, which he is the distinctive feature of his Church, will become at his death a superstition too weak to live as a band of union and

stimulus to action among those who are now his followers." The history of Chaitanyaism is an apt illustration of these remarks. In the name of this devotee, his followers now perpetrate the worst of social vices and have sunk low in the mire of corruption. That the personality of Mr. Sen is sinking deep into the very heart of the Brahmo Somaj of India is evident from the following lines of the *Sunday Mirror* of November 16, written evidently in answer to the *Statesman*—"The Minister's personality is absolutely essential to the cohesion and vitality of his system of truths." "So it is, if the Minister is as we believe him to be, a part, a great part, a central part of the dispensation. It is he who has given the life and tone to the entire movement, and as he is completely identified with it, his preachings and precepts we accept as the embodiment of the dispensation itself. Thus, then, we cannot do away with this man, who is the leader, the mouthpiece, the heaven-appointed missionary of what we call the Brahmo Somaj. The *Indian Mirror* accepts in its entirety the plan and programme of his life—the plan and programme that is to give India her life and salvation. Whatever he does or says, whatever the least among the members of the dispensation does say, must be faithfully reflected in the *Mirror*. This explains our position, we hope, pretty clearly." Out of fullness of the heart doth the mouth speak. The mouthpiece of the Brahmo Somaj of India finds itself therefore unable any longer to conceal that Mr. Sen is "a part, a great part, a central part of the dispensation" and accepts his "preachings and precepts as the embodiment of the dispensation itself", and looks upon him as "the heaven-appointed missionary" whose word is law and who carries to the Brahmo Somaj of India injunctions issued by the Lord. Yet he is not a Prophet and his followers do not believe in a mediator! But can it be said after this frank and candid expression of opinion, that the *Statesman* is wrong in saying :—"All that is perfectly clear to us is, that Mr. Sen is the heart of the organization, from whom its life-blood circulates, and without whom (either in the body or

out of the body) it must die and dissolve—though death may come long before dissolution. He asked the other day the question, "Am I a Prophet?" We must answer it for him, with an alternative. He is either a Prophet or an Impostor. He belongs either to the first rank of the world's teachers and spiritual guides, or is "a self-blown bubble whose bursting will leave but a faint momentary streak on the surface of the stream which it now seems to conduct." Our contemporary is sincere enough to confess that he has not "a sufficiently intimate knowledge" of Mr. Sen's Church but we have, and we have not the least hesitation in endorsing the last words of our contemporary that Mr. Sen "is a self-blown bubble whose bursting will leave but a faint momentary streak on the surface of the stream which it now seems to conduct." Like most religious movements which depended for their life and strength upon the personality of their leaders, the Brahmo Somaj of India will crumble into pieces with Mr. Sen. But Brahmoism will out-live him. It depends upon God, and not upon any particular man, and as long as the Supreme Ruler of the Universe lasts, will Brahmoism last and last to Eternity.

27 November 1879

INDIA UNDER LORD LYTTON

SUCH is the heading of an article in the Contemporary Review for the present month from the pen of Col. Osborn. The article deals with four of the principal events in the vice-royalty of Lord Lytton—events which have each of them been pregnant with the woes of the dumb unrepresented millions of India, *viz.*, the Afghan War, the last Famine in the North-West, the Licence Tax and the abolition of the Import Duties. The lucidity of argument and the fidelity to truth which have been brought to bear upon each of these events are such—that it is perhaps sufficient for us to say that they are well-worthy of the gifted writer. We will therefore studiously avoid

spoiling the effect of the heavy artillery that has been opened on Lord Lytton, by any observations of our own and introduce our readers at once to the salient points in the article—to which, we are sorry, that our space prevents us from doing that complete justice which the importance of the subjects treated in the article deserves. We shall confine this article to the history and origin of the Afghan War as told by Col. Osborn.

The article commences with the following extract from the speech of Lord Lytton when he assumed the reins of Government ;—

“Gentlemen, it is my fervent prayer, that a power higher than that of any earthly Government may inspire and bless the progress of our counsels ; granting me, with your valued assistance, to direct them to such issues as may prove conducive to the honour of our country, to the authority and prestige of its august Sovereign, to the progressive well-being of the millions committed to our fostering care, and to the security of the chiefs and princes of India, as well as of our allies beyond the frontier, in the undisturbed enjoyment of their just rights and hereditary possessions.”

The writer then proceeds to shew how the solemn promises made in the above extract have, in each of the four events, been as solemnly and studiously broken. Col. Osborn has tried, and we think has also succeeded in his attempt, to prove that Russian aggression had nothing whatever to do with the war in Afghanistan. Long before the Russian Mission had reached Cabul, the present Ministry had made up their minds to fasten a quarrel upon the Ameer. After stating that when Lord Lytton reached India, “the Ameer was on terms of sincere friendship with the Governor-General of Calcutta”, Col. Osborn gives the following extract from the despatch of Lord Salisbury to Lord Northbrook to prove his statement :—

“I do not desire, by the observations which I have made, to convey to your Excellency the impression that, in the opinion of Her Majesty’s Government, the Russian Government have any intention of violating the frontier of Afghanistan....

It is undoubtedly true that the recent advances in Central Asia have been rather forced upon the Government of St. Petersburg that originated by them, and that *their efforts, at present, are sincerely directed to the prevention of any moment which may give just umbrage to the British Government.*"

Can there be the slightest doubt that Col. Osborn is perfectly right in asserting that "the political horizon was, therefore, cloudless at the moment selected by Lord Salisbury for a radical change of policy in Afghanistan"? But proceeds Col. Osborn :—

"Lord Salisbury has since expressed his conviction that if Lord Northbrook had made the proposal, the Ameer would have accepted the permanent Embassy, and both he and we should have been spared the calamities which resulted from delay. But at the time Lord Salisbury sent his instructions to the Government of India he thought otherwise. He had then no doubt that if the Ameer was asked in so many words to receive permanent Mission in Afghanistan, the Ameer would refuse. But he thought it was possible to fasten a Mission on him by means of a deception.

"The first step", Lord Salisbury wrote to the Government of India, "in establishing our relations with the Ameer on a more satisfactory footing will be to induce him to receive a temporary Embassy in his capital. It need not be publicly connected with the establishment of a permanent Mission within his dominions. There would be many advantages in ostensibly directing it to some object of smaller political interest, which it will not be difficult for your Excellency to *find*, or if need be to *create*. I have, therefore, to instruct you...without any delay that you can reasonably avoid, to find some occasion for sending a Mission to Kabul."

Lord Northbrook was not the man "to find some occasion for sending a Mission to Cabul or "to create" any excuse." It was reserved for Lord Lytton to do so. Therefore, says Col. Osborn :—

"The new policy whatever it was not forced upon the British Government, either by the alienation of the Ameer or

the intrigues of Russia. They entered upon it at a time when, by their own confession, the sky was clear. Afghanistan was in the enjoyment of an unprecedented quiet and prosperity ; the Ameer was conducting his foreign policy in accordance with our wishes ; and the efforts of the Government of St. Petersburg were "sincerely directed to the prevention of any movements which might give just umbrage to the British Government." So far as India was concerned, the condition of the country called aloud for a policy devoted to internal reform and retrenchment. The limit of endurable taxation had been reached ; the army imperatively needed thorough re-organization ; and the people and the land were still being scourged by famine upon famine of the most appalling character."

But "not until" proceeds the article, the actual outbreak of hostilities, the negotiations with the Ameer were kept hidden from the English Parliament and the nation. The fact is, that in the instructions given to Lord Lytton before his departure from England, Lord Salisbury anticipates the refusal of the Ameer to agree to the new policy, and points out that in that case, is to be done—

"11. If the language and demeanour of the Ameer be such as to promise no satisfactory result of the negotiations thus opened, his Highness should be distinctly reminded that he is isolating himself at his own peril from the friendship and protection it is his interest to seek and deserve...."

"28. The conduct of Shere Ali has more than once been characterized by so significant a disregard of the wishes and interests of the Government of India, that the irretrievable alienation of his confidence in the sincerity and power of the Government is a contingency which cannot be dismissed as impossible. *Should such a fear be confirmed by the result of the proposed negotiation, no time must be lost in reconsidering, from a new point of view, the policy to be pursued in reference to Afghanistan.*" These instructions clearly establish the following points :—They show that the new policy whatever it was, was expected "irretrievably" to destroy confidence of

the Ameer "in the sincerity of the Government" and that, in that case, the Ameer was to be informed that he had forfeited our friendship and protection, and a new policy was immediately to be adopted towards Afghanistan. Here, then, we have the first note of war. All this time there was no pressure upon the British Government occasioned by the attitude of Russia. Our relations with Russia were excellent. On the 15th May 1876, Mr. Disraeli said in the House of Commons, "*I believe, indeed that at no time has there been a better understanding between the Courts of St. James and St. Petersburg than at this present moment*", and there is the good understanding because our policy is a clear and frank policy." So here we must have the proof, that in a season of perfect calm, the Ministry commenced a policy for the "irretrievable alienation" of the Ameer, and sent Lord Lytton to India in order to execute it.

Lord Lytton proceeded to execute the mandate. He wrote a letter to Atta Mohammed Khan, the British Vakeel in the Court of Cabul, asking him to convey the information therein to the Ameer. Among the contents of that letter were the following :—

"As matters now stand, the British Government is able to pour an overwhelming force into Afghanistan, which could be spread round him as a ring of iron, but if he becomes our enemy, it could break him as a reed." "Our only interest in maintaining the independence of Afghanistan is to provide for the security of our own frontier." "If we ceased to regard it as a friendly State, there was nothing to prevent us coming to an understanding with Russia which would wipe Afghanistan out of the map for ever." Atta Mohammed was also asked to arrange for a Conference and a Conference was agreed to by the Ameer and took place at Peswhar. Pending the Conference, the Cabul Envoy, Noor Mohammed died, and although another Envoy was on his way, Lord Lytton ordered the Conference to be closed. Col. Osborn proves these facts by extracts from His Excellency's letter. But let us see what followed :—

"The closing of the Conference was followed by the withdrawal from Kabul of the British agency which had been established there for more than twenty years, and the suspension of all intercourse between us and the Ameer."

"There is but one conclusion possible from these strange proceedings. The demands made upon the Ameer were made in the hope that he would refuse to concede them, and so furnish the Indian Government with a pretext for attacking him. The last thing which Lord Lytton desired was that the Ameer should accept his demands. And, therefore, as soon as it became apparent that Shere Ali was prepared to do this rather than forfeit the protection and friendship of the British Government, Lord Lytton broke up the conference, which (be it remembered) he had himself proposed. Lord Lytton, not Shere Ali, without provocation or ostensible cause, assumes towards Afghanistan "an attitude of isolation and scarcely veiled hostility"; and Lord Salisbury thus comments upon the situation (October 4, 1877) :—

"In event of the Ameer...spontaneously manifesting a desire to come to a friendly understanding with your Excellency, *on the basis of the terms lately offered to, but declined by him*, his advances should not be rejected. If on the other hand, he continues to maintain an attitude of isolation and scarcely veiled hostility, the British Government...will be at liberty to adopt such measures for the protection and permanent tranquillity of the North-West Frontier of her Majesty's Indian dominions as the circumstances may render expedient, without regard to the wishes of the Ameer Shere Ali or the interests of his dynasty."

Here then was the proposal for a Scientific Frontier long before the Russian Mission which at once added "fuel to the fire". An English Mission was at once organised under Sir Neville Chamberlain. Even then the Ameer did not refuse to admit the mission, for says Col. Osborn :—

"While yet Sir Chamberlain with his Mission was at Peshawur, Gulam Hussein Khan, from Kabul, reported to Sir Neville as follows :— "If Mission will await Ameer's

permission, everything will be arranged, God willing, in the best manner, and no room will be left for complaint in the future....Further, that if Mission starts on the 18th, without waiting for the Ameer's permission, there would be no hope left for the renewal of friendship or communication."

"These reports were received by Sir Neville Chamberlain on 19th September, and on the same day the Viceroy ordered the Mission to attempt to force its way through the Khyber Pass. All Europe knows the sequel. The Afghan officer in charge of the fort at Ali Musjid declined to let the Mission pass ; but while obeying his orders firmly, behaved, as Major Cavagnari reported, "in a most courteous manner and very favourably impressed both Colonel Jenkins and myself." And then was telegraphed home the shameless fiction that he had threatened to fire on Major Cavagnari, and that the Majesty of the Empire had been insulted."

25 December 1879

RETROSPECT OF 1879

A YEAR is but a drop in the ocean of Eternity. One year has just passed almost in the twinkling of an eye ; but nevertheless it was an eventful one.

To say that the year which closed yesterday was eventful, is merely to repeat that it was a year, in these days of progress when every thing marches so rapidly years must be eventful, or they are not years at all. There is, however, this difference : some years are more, while others are less, eventful than usual. The year 1879 belongs to the former class ; it has left its mark on the history of India. The limited space at our disposal will not permit us to review the occurrences of the past twelve-months at any length. All that we can hope to do is to draw the reader's attention to some of the most important and striking events of the year which ended yesterday.

POLITICAL

In a retrospect of the past year under this heading, the Afghan business naturally claims notice first of all. The total defeat of the Afghan army at the Peiwar Kotal on the 2nd of December 1878 by General Roberts had completed the destruction of Shere Ali's power, which had already been much weakened by previous reverses ; and on the 9th of the same month of 1878 the Government of India had received intelligence of the flight of the Amir from Cabul. In the last moment of this departure, Shere Ali had released Yakub khan from prison and appointed him regent. He had announced his departure by a letter to the British authorities intimating at the same time that he intended proceeding to St. Petersburg for the purpose of there laying his case before the European powers. Such was the situation in Afghanistan at the opening of the past year. On receiving intimation of Shere Ali's flight from Cabul, the Government of India authorised Major Cavagnari, Political officer with the Khyber then stationed at Jelalabad, to address to Yakub Khan a friendly letter, so as to give him an opportunity of separating himself, if he felt inclined to do so, from the policy of his father. As Yakub was then merely in the position of a regent he showed no disposition to take advantage of this opportunity. Towards the end of January authentic intelligence was received of Shere Ali's death at Mazar-i-Sharif in Afghan Turkistan. Yakub being thus left a free agent, at once expressed his desire for a reconciliation with the British Government ; and Major Cavagnari was authorised to communicate to him the terms of which the Government of India was prepared to entertain negotiations for peace. The conditions proposed were that the foreign relations of Afghanistan should be placed under the control of the British Government ; that the principal passes between India and Afghanistan should be made over to the Government ; and that a permanent British Resident should be received at Cabul, Yakub Khan immediately agreed to the first and the third conditions ; but he strongly appealed to

the Government of India to withdraw the demand for the surrender of the principal passes between India and Afghanistan. But Lord Lytton remained inexorable. The Amir was distinctly informed that the conditions communicated to him could not be waived. Considering that a frank interchange of views and wishes between the Amir and the British authorities would lead to the early establishment of peaceful relations with Afghanistan, Lord Lytton authorised Major Cavagnari to propose to Yakub Khan a personal conference at Cabul on the subject of the territorial conditions. But the inactivity of the British forces in Afghanistan had encouraged the new Amir to believe that the invader was unable to advance upon and capture his capital ; and he, therefore, assumed a more reserved attitude. Thereupon the Government gave authority to Sir Samuel Browne commanding the Khyber field force at Jelalabad, to move a portion of his force to Gundamak. This movement, though ostensibly undertaken for sanitary reasons, was really intended to correct the erroneous impressions of the Cabul Durbar as to the capability of the British forces to advance further than Jelalabad. Shortly after the occupation of Gundamak, the Amir announced his intention of proceeding to that place, for the purpose of there entering into a personal conference with Major Cavagnari. The Major was invested with full powers to represent the Government of India in the negotiations with the Amir, who reached Gundamak on 8th of May. Negotiations were opened a few days after the Amir's arrival in the British Camp ; and on the 26th May the Treaty was signed by the Amir on behalf of Afghanistan and by Major Cavagnari on behalf of the British Government, which has become memorable as the Treaty of Gundamak. As soon as this treaty was ratified by the Viceroy in Council, it was officially announced with a flourish of trumpets that "all the chief objects of the policy of the Government of India towards Afghanistan" had been attained. In their anxiety to bring the Afghan business to a close with a view to gratify the growing demand of the British Public for peace, the conser-

vatives assumed that Yakub Khan would be able to fulfil the engagements into which he entered at Gundamak. All sensible and right thinking persons acquainted with Afghan affairs felt that this was a gratuitous assumption, and expressed, without hesitation, their firm conviction that the Treaty of Gundamak was a structure based upon sandy foundations and that it would one day vanish like a Maypole in the air. But Lord Lytton and his admirers could not be induced to understand this simple proposition, even though it was clear as the sun at noonday. In the beginning of June the Treaty was transmitted to her Majesty's Government; and on the 7th of July was initiated the famous despatch in which Lord Lytton described the success of the new Afghan policy with astonishing pride and self-complacency. The Cabul expedition of 1878, like that of 1838, was as fertile in honors as it was barren in military achievements. K. C. B.'s, K. C. S. I.'s, C. B.'s, C. S. I.'s as well as brevet colonelships, brevet majorships and brevet captainships were distributed with a liberal hand, because the Government deemed it expedient to give as much *eclat* as possible to the first success of the new frontier policy, which had been strongly opposed. Lord Lytton, like Lord Auckland, would have been created an Earl at once if only he had wished it towards the middle of July, Sir Louis Cavagnari, K. C. B.—for he had been knighted in recognition of his services in negotiating the Gundamak Treaty—was sent to the court of the Amir as the first British representative under the Gundamak Treaty. The envoy with his staff and escort reached Cabul on the 24th of July, and was assigned quarters in the Bala Hissar, the celebrated citadel of Cabul. For sometime everything proceeded smoothly. Shortly before the prorogation of Parliament in the middle of August, Sir Stafford Northcote, the leader of the House of Commons, in the course of a debate on the Treaty of Gundamak which had been opened by Mr. Grant Duff, proudly taunted the Liberals with the failure of their predictions concerning the safety of the British Embassy at Cabul. Scarcely had a full report of this debate reached India, when

the Gundamak Treaty ceased to exist, and the enchanter's palace created by the lavish fancy of a vivid and poetic imagination disappeared. On the 3rd of September the British Embassy in the Bala Hissar was ruthlessly massacred, and the Conservatives were rudely aroused from the false sense of security in which they had allowed themselves to rest. The intelligence of the catastrophe at Cabul came upon the Conservatives as a profound surprise; but it only fulfilled to the latter the predictions of men who knew Afghanistan and the character of its people. The ministerial organs both in England and India insisted on the infliction of prompt and exemplary punishment upon the people of Cabul for their faithlessness and treachery; and an avenging army was organised with all possible speed and placed under the command of Sir Frederick Roberts, the hero of the Peiwar Kotal. The General who was then at Simla taking part in the deliberations of the army commission returned in haste to his command in the Kurram Valley, and began to make preparations for an immediate advance upon Cabul. As the advance brigade of the avenging force reached Khusi towards the end of the September, the Amir arrived in the British Camp and took refuge with General Baker in command of that brigade. On the 3rd of October, General Roberts issued a Proclamation from Zerganshahs warning the people of Cabul against offering any resistance to the entry of the avenging British army into the city and the authority of the Amir. But that warning was disregarded. The advance of the avenging force was opposed at Charasiah on the 6th October, though without success. On the 12th General Roberts made his formal entry into the city of Cabul and held a Durbar in the Bala Hissar. At this Durbar in which the Amir was represented by his son, a child only five years old, the General read a Proclamation establishing the Reign of Terror in Cabul. The inhabitants of the city and of surrounding country were placed under martial law. They were informed that such of the city buildings as interfered with the military occupation of the Bala Hissar

and the safety and comfort of the British troops to be quartered in it would be at once levelled to the ground ; that a heavy fine would be imposed upon them ; that a full and searching inquiry would be held into the circumstances of the late outbreak, and all persons convicted of taking a part in it will be dealt with according to their deserts ; that a Military Governor would be appointed to punish with a strong hand all evil-doers ; and that the carrying of dangerous weapons within a distance of five miles from the city gates would be regarded a capital offence and punished with death. At the close of the Durbar some of the near relatives and trusted advisers of the Amir were placed under arrest. The programme announced in the Bala Hissar Proclamation was carried out in its integrity. A commission was appointed to make an enquiry into the circumstances connected with the attack on the Presidency ; and a military court was constituted to do justice in accordance with martial law. A large number of people were convicted of rebellion against the lawful authority of the Amir involved in the offering of resistance to the advance of the British force. Meanwhile, the Amir abdicated and was made a close prisoner, a plot for his escape from the British Camp having been discovered. On the abdication of the Amir another Proclamation was issued on the 28th of October lying down that every Chief in Afghanistan should look up to General Roberts for orders ; and announcing that the British Government, after consultation with the principal Sirdars, tribal Chiefs and others representing the interests and wishes of the various provinces and cities would declare its will as to the future permanent arrangements for the good Government of the people. That will has not yet been declared ; but four men from among the Sirdars were chosen and appointed Governors of provinces. They were posted to Kohistan, Maidan, Logar and Turkestan. This system, as might have been easily anticipated, turned out a signal failure. Three of the Governors, *viz.*, those of Kohistan, Maidan and Logar who joined their appointments before the close of the year were defied and threatened by the people

they had been sent to rule ; and one of them, Hosein Khan a son of Dost Mahomed's, who had been sent to Maidan, was shot through the head on the 3rd of December. The report of the Commission to investigate into the circumstances connected with the attack on the British Residency having been submitted to the Government of India, the deportation of Yakub Khan and three of his Ministers to India was ordered. The ex-Amir left the British Camp early on the morning of the 1st December and passed as a prisoner through Gundamak, where six months before he had received a royal welcome from the British authorities and been treated with every mark of outward respect. He reached Meerut on the 14th, where he was to remain for the present and his father-in-law and the latter's brother reached Lahore on the 10th and were lodged in the fortress in that city. While the ex-Amir was on his way to Calcutta and General Roberts was entertaining the belief that his position in Cabul was quite safe, the Afghans began collecting with a view to fight the hated invader. There was continued fighting for three days ; and though General Roberts gained success at first, he afterwards decided to collect his force within the Sherpur cantonments and act on the defensive. He asked for reinforcements to enable him to clear the country and act decisively. General Charles Gough advanced with strong reinforcements from Gundamak and reached Jugdulluck in one march. But the tribes in this point shewed signs of hostility and obstructed his immediate advance. All communication with Cabul has been stopped. General Gough was attacked on the 16th, Col. Norman left Jelalabad on the 17th to support General Gough. General Roberts has been relieved on the 24th December last.

BURMAH AND THE NAGA DISTURBANCES

Besides the Afghan business, the affairs of Burmah and of the Naga Hills caused some anxiety during the past year.

Tharrawady, the late King of Burmah, had died on the 1st of October 1878, or at least his death had been officially announced on that day. The King had had several sons among whom Theebaw had been raised to the throne through the influence of the first Queen, with the second of whose three daughters he had happened to fall in love. The new King had begun his reign well, even though he had in accordance with time-honoured custom, imprisoned every person who, he thought, might be dangerous to his rule. One of the princes—the Nyoung—Yan Prince—had escaped into the British Residency and found the protection of Mr. Shaw, the late Resident. The new King had given a constitution to his subjects, created a Supreme Council, abolished all irregular taxes and royal monopolies. But the constitution became a dead letter in the very beginning of the past year, after it had been in operation for three months only. Theebaw suddenly placed three of his ministers under confinement, and the princes and their relations who had been made prisoners in order to secure his succession to the throne were put to death in cold blood and with horrible cruelties. The new King continued throughout the year to indulge in his favourite pastime of putting to death every person who proved obnoxious to him any way. At one time, a declaration of war against the mad man who ruled Burmah was daily expected ; and if Lord Lytton had not been busily occupied with the Afghan business till the middle of the year, this expectation would have, in all likelihood, been realised. But the Government of India, probably, under the instructions of the Ministry who, with wars in Afghanistan and Zululand, could not afford to have another little war on their hands, decided to pursue a policy of “repose and defence”. The British Resident was withdrawn from Mandalay, when it was found that his presence there was of no practical good ; and discretion was given to the Assistant Resident in charge of the Residency to leave Burmah whenever he considered it expedient to do so. After the Cabul disaster, Mr. St. Barbe, the Assistant Resident, left Mandalay in a hurry ;

and from that time all diplomatic intercourse with the King of Burmah was stopped. Towards the close of the year, Theebaw despatched a Mission to the Viceroy, but it was detained on the frontier of British Burmah and not allowed to proceed. As regards the outbreak of the Nagas on the North-Eastern frontier of the Empire, it did not come as a surprise upon the Government, because Sir Steuart Bayley, the Chief Commissioner of Assam had fully expected it since the removal of the head-quarters of the Naga Hills district to Kohima. Mr. Damant, Deputy Commissioner and Political Agent, Naga Hills district, who had gone out to seize a quantity of ammunition in a neighbouring Naga village was murdered with a portion of his escort. The Nagas then besieged Kohima, the garrison of which after enduring for nearly a fortnight the privations of a siege in a stockade, was at last relieved by a Munipuri force under the command of Colonel Johnstone, who had promptly started with the force on hearing the news of the outbreak. The attacking force of the Nagas being driven from Kohima collected in the forts they had built above Konoma in an almost inaccessible spot, which could not be approached without great loss of life from any side. The position was such that guns could not be brought to play on them. On the 26th of November however, Konoma was attacked. The Nagas made a most stubborn resistance against the storming party. Konoma was shelled for two days and then taken by assault. The English loss was heavy. But the fall of Konoma did not accomplish the subjugation of the Nagas. These disturbances are still going on.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

In matters connected with the internal administration of the country, finances and the new Civil Service rules occupied the largest share of public attention. The financial statement for 1879-80 filled the community, both European and Native,

with alarm and distrust. A few days before the publication of the budget a deputation from the British Indian Association had waited on the Viceroy with an address protesting against the abolition of the cotton duties and the mis-appropriation of the famine insurance fund. The arguments on which the protests of the association were based were simply unanswerable ; and for this reason, perhaps, Lord Lytton administered such a severe reproof to the deputation as no respectable public body had ever received at the hands of the head of the Government. The Viceroy distinctly told the members of the deputation that their insinuation to the effect that the money raised by special taxation for famine purposes was being mis-appropriated, was a calumny. This was uttered on the 8th of March ; and five days afterwards the budget for 1879-80 quietly announced that the famine insurance fund had ceased to exist ? The Government of India exempted from import duty all cotton goods containing no yarn of a higher number than 30s. a measure which involved the sacrifice of a revenue of 20 lakhs per annum. Nor was this all. The financial statement expresed determination of Government to remove the "indirect protection" which enabled "the Indian-made coarse-goods to displace by their cheapness or other qualities, finer clothes imported" ; or in other words, to remit the cotton duties totally. The Government decided to sacrifice a revenue of 20 lakhs per annum by exempting from duty all cotton goods containing yarn not finer than 30s., notwithstanding a deficit, and in the face of the fact that a loan of 2 millions sterling was obtained from the English Exchequer without interest to meet the cost of the Afghan war. The financial statement announced the fate of the Indian customs line which had been trembling in the balance. The line with the exception of the Trans-Indus Section, was abolished on the 1st of April last. Sir John Strachey, as might have been expected, spoke of the abolition of the barbarous customs barriers with astonishing pride and self-complacency ; but he conveniently ignored the stubborn fact that the reform was achieved at the expense of the people of Rajputana and Central India upon

whose salt a tax of 2-8-0 per maund was imposed—a blessing they had not enjoyed before. The Budget, moreover, announced a new loan policy, and the purchase of the East Indian Railway. The Government expressed its intention to raise as opportunity offered, Local Debenture Loans, the proceeds of which would be devoted to particular works, and the interest upon which was to be payable only locally in the neighbourhood of the works for the construction of which they were raised. The new system which was tried in the case of Cawnpore and Farakabad Railway in North-Western Provinces, turned out a signal failure. Towards the close of the year another experiment was made. The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces invited a local loan of 5½ lakhs for the construction of the Nagpore and Raipore Railway, with what result it is not yet known. The East Indian Railway became the property of the State yesterday. The Government offered to pay its shareholders a price of £ 125 per every £ 100 of capital stock or £ 32,750,000 for the whole stock of £ 200,000. It was arranged that payment of that amount was to be made by an annuity terminating on the 14th of February 1893, in the calculation of which the rate of interest used was £ 4-6s. per cent. The evidence collected by Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Bill authorising the purchase of the East Indian Railway, shewed that the terms offered to the shareholders were extravagantly liberal and entailed a heavy loss upon the Indian tax-payer. The Government, however, rightly decided not to interfere with the existing arrangements for the working of the Railway. A new company with a capital of £ 6,550,000 was formed to undertake the management of the line. In the beginning of May, the Government issued an economy circular to the local Governments and administrations. It was pointed out that a further reduction of civil expenditure was imperatively demanded by the unsatisfactory condition of the Indian finances. The provincial Governments were warned that the assignments made to them under the decentralization scheme would be reduced, and that they should not commence any

new public work estimated to cost more than Rs. 2,500 either at the cost of Imperial or Provincial Funds. Mr. Yule, the President of the Bengal Chamber of commerce having publicly charged Sir John Strachey with breach of faith involved in the mis-appropriation of the famine fund, another financial circular was issued ostensibly for the purpose of impressing upon local Governments and administrations the necessity of enforcing the most rigid economy in public expenditure but really for the purpose of defending the Finance Minister from Mr. Yule's charges. But the defence put forward was as lame as it could have been. A Committee of Secretaries was appointed to revise the secretariat establishments of the Supreme Government, and a Commission under the presidency of Sir Ashley Eden was assembled at Simla to enquire into and report on military expenditure and the organization of the army generally. The labours of the Secretaries' Committee resulted in the abolition of the Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce which Lord Mayo had created ; but the measure did not cause any saving worth of the name. The only saving effected was the pay of a Secretary to the Government of India on Rs. 35,000 ; and even this was greatly naturalized by the grant of a personal allowance to the dis-established secretary. The Army Commission submitted its report towards the close of November. Whether the carrying out of its recommendations will lead to a reduction in the military expenditure, yet remains to be seen. Shortly before the Government of India left Simla, Sir John Strachey introduced into the Legislative Council two important Bills bearing on Imperial and Municipal finance. On the representation of the Government of Bengal, the Finance Department had raised the taxable minimum under the Bengal License Tax Act from Rs. 100 to Rs. 250. A Bill was brought forward to consolidate the various provincial License Tax Acts into an Imperial measure and to raise the taxable minimum to Rs. 250 throughout the Empire. To make up for the loss of £ 240,000 by the exemption of all incomes below Rs. 250, Sir John Strachey proposed the virtual re-imposition of the

Income Tax. The new tax touching all classes except the land-holder and the fund-holder. The Bill as amended since and referred to a Select Committee does not touch incomes below Rs. 500. The long-cherished design of Sir John was thus accomplished. The object of the other Bill was to strike the axe at the root of the system of indirect taxation for Municipal purposes prevailing throughout Upper India, the Central Provinces and the Bombay Presidency.

The publication of the long-expected rules for the admission of Natives to offices usually reserved for members of the Covenanted Civil Service, dealt a death blow to the aspirations of educated Natives in the matter of higher employment in the public service. The new rules provided that each local Government might nominate Natives of India as defined in 33 Vic. Cop. 3, Section 6, for employment in Her Majesty's Covenanted Civil Service within the territories subordinate to each Government. When all the papers connected with the subject were published, the public came to know the real nature of the Natives Civil Service Scheme framed by the Government of India. They were astonished to find that Lord Lytton and his Councillors had proposed to the Secretary of State to apply to Parliament for an enactment barring the entrance of Natives of India into the Covenanted Civil Service through the door of competition. Lord Cranbrook, however, shrank from the responsibility of passing such a measure before the representatives of the enlightened British public. It was also found that Natives Civil Servants nominated under the new rules would not be appointed to important administrative posts ; that they would draw not more than two-thirds of the salary allotted to Covenanted Civilians ; and that probationers would receive Rs. 200 a month—the initial pay of the Munsif and the Deputy Magistrate. The whole scheme was, indeed, found to be a gigantic sham. Such was Lord Lytton's solution of the great problem of giving the Natives of India a fair share in the administration of their own country, for which his Lordship was told by the loyal citizens of Delhi that his

name would ever be cherished in grateful recollection by our countrymen !

The most important legislative measure of the past year was the Deccan Agriculturists Reilef Act. It was introduced into the Legislative Council at Simla by Mr. Hope in the month of July ; and the Viceroy distinctly declared on the occasion of its introduction that the Government of India was resolved to pass the measure in the shape in which it had been brought forward. After this declaration, there was no necessity for referring the Bill to a Select Committee for report. But it was done for mere form's sake. The Committee made six very important alterations in the Bill and thereby deprived it of all its essential peculiarities which constituted its objectionable features. But the work of the Select Committee was done by a majority of the Legislative Council ; and the Bill as passed was almost as good as if it had not gone to a Select Committee at all. To relieve the the indebted Deccan peasantry, the Government adopted the easiest plan possible : confiscated the property of the money-lenders, instead of going to the root of the matter and amending its rigid revenue system, which was the true cause of the evil. The new Stamp Act which became law early last year enhanced the duties payable in respect of instruments in which Natives were concerned ; while the duties on instruments in which Europeans were interested were left untouched. The new Act dealt with the subject of general stamps alone, and it was announced that the question of amending the Court-fees Act would be taken in hand in 1880. The Legal Practitioner's Bill which became law towards the close of the Simla season did not make any material alterations in the law, save that touching was made a penal offence. Some very important Bill would have been passed into law last year, if the Government had not appointed a Law Commission to report on them. This Commission consisting of Mr. Whitely Stokes, the Legal Member of Council, Sir Charles Turner, Chief Justice of Madras and Mr. Raymond West of the Bombay High Court, assembled at Simla in the middle of

the year. To the Law Commission were referred the Easements Bill, the Alluvion Bill, the Master and Servants Bill and the Transfer of Property Bill for report ; and its real object was "to regulate Mr. Stokes". Towards the close of the year the Commission submitted its report. The long-expected Factory Bill was introduced into the Viceroy's Legislative Council shortly before the Government of India left Simla, and was referred to a Select Committee for report.

Among the important occurrences of the past year in Feudatory India were the Kashmir famine, the Viceroy's Rajputana tour and the installation of the Nawab of Bhawalpore. The distress caused by the continuation of the famine in Kashmir during the past year gave Anglo-Indians an opportunity to demand the annexation of the Happy Valley. All sorts of mis-representations and sensational stories about the sufferings of the Kashmir populations were published in some of the Anglo-Indian papers. It was given out boat-loads of paupers had been drowned in the water lake, by the orders of the Inspector-General of Police, Srinagar. On a full investigation this story has been found to be utterly without foundation ; and the Inspector-General of Police who had been placed under arrest, was honourably acquitted. The detractors of the Kashmir Durbar afterwards admitted that the Maharaja did not fail in his duty as regards relieving the distress caused by the famine ; but they asserted that the gross mis-government of the country previous to the famine had left the people and the country in the worst possible condition to meet the famine. This cry was raised with a view to justify the annexation of Kashmir. The Viceroy's Rajputana tour was the accomplishment of a long cherished design. He Excellency visited Ulwar, Jeypore, Ajmere, Bharatpore, Dholepore as also Gwalior in Central India. He distributed prizes to the students of the Mayo College, and made a graceful speech on the occasion. The Installation of the young Nawab of Bhawalpore was an important event. The Nawab had been educated under the direction of the British authorities. Sir Robert Egerton, in placing the Nawab

on the Guddee, made an excellent speech. He gracefully acknowledged the devoted loyalty of the Punjab Chiefs and assured them that the mighty British Government did not desire the annexation of their States. Sir Robert also distinctly laid down that it was a grave mistake to introduce into Native States which, owing to the minority of the Chief, have come under Government control, the elaborate system and complicated rules which were in vogue in British India. The question of reducing the armies of the Native States was in obeyance last year in consequence of the Afghan War.

PROVINCIAL

In noticing provincial affairs of interest and importance during the past year, Bengal first claims our attention. Early in January last the agricultural classes in this province were filled with alarm by the introduction of a Bill into the Lieutenant-Governor's Council to provide a summary procedure for the realization of arrears of rent. This Bill, if passed into law, would have placed the Bengal ryot absolutely at the mercy of his landlord. The Bengal law contained every provision for the punctual collection of the land-owner's dues known to civilized jurisprudence; but the landlord asked for larger power in order that he might enhance the rent of his ryots at his sweet will and pleasure. The mover of the Bill declared that the Zamindar was not to be allowed to turn the proposed summary procedure into an engine of constant oppression and harrassment; but the Lieutenant-Governor was at last convinced that this was impossible. So that Bill was abandoned, and a commission was appointed to draft a new Bill. Sir Ashley Eden having been appointed President of the Army Commission, Sir Steuart Bayley was selected in the middle of the year to officiate as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Sir Steuart during his short tenure of the office shewed the staff he was made of. He dealt with the Patna Magisterial scandal vigourously and justly, as the Monghyr

Magisterial scandal was after all dealt with. Installation of the Maharaja of Durbhangā by Sir Steuart was the occasion of great rejoicing in Behar. Perhaps the most memorable occurrence in Bengal during the past year was the reduction of the Durga Puja vacation. The national holiday of the Hindus of Bengal was reduced from 2 to 4 days for the convenience and in the interest of a few European merchants. This measure created great discontent and irritation among the entire population of the province. On resuming charge of the Government of Bengal, towards the close of the year, Sir Ashley Eden matured the scheme for giving our countrymen a technical and industrial education on which he had set his heart. The past year will also be remembered in Bengal for the several general election of Commissioners for the Calcutta Municipality. In the North-Western Province and Oudh many things worthy of notice occurred during the past twelve months. Early in the year, great excitement was created throughout the North-West by Sir George Couper's decision in the Sahai case and by his announcement in a Durbar held at Agra that the famine cess which was in suspension for a year in consequence of the scarcity, would be realized. Lord Lytton remedied the injustice which had been done to Pandit Har Sahai, by granting him the pension to which he was entitled. But the realization of the famine cess went on, although the Government of India gave authority to the Lieutenant-Governor to suspend its operation in cases he thought fit to do so. The long-talked-of Oudh Judicial Scheme was sanctioned and carried out last year; but the opportunity was not taken advantage of to abolish the Lucknow Judicial Commissioner's Court and to place the Judicial administration of Oudh under the control of the Allahabad High Court. During the rains and autumn of 1879, the North-Western Provinces were ravaged by a dreadful epidemic fever which caused great mortality. Although the Government of India had laid down, in the economy circulars issued by it, that no expenditure not absolutely necessary should be incurred, three new districts were created in the North-Western Provinces.

at a considerable cost, not to meet administrative necessities but solely to provide three Junior Civilians with the charge of districts. In the Punjab nothing of particular importance occurred in connection with provincial affairs, except the announcement of a new educational policy in Lord Lytton's address delivered on the occasion of distribution of prizes to the students of the University College. The Viceroy expressed his cordial approval of the two great educational principles, on which that institution was based; first that the medium of instruction should be the mother-tongue of the student; and secondly, that the object of instruction should be to develop the sentiment of an enlightened loyalty. The viceroy thus laid the axe at the root of high education in the Punjab, and decreed that the manly races of upper India should not acquire the independence and ability of the Bengal and the Marathi. In Madras the Rumpa rebellion monopolised the attention of the Local Government throughout the past year. The rebellion was the result of the toddy tax, which should not have been at all imposed upon the miserable people in the Runpa district. The rebellion might have been easily suppressed if this tax had been remitted and the persons that joined in the first riot been pardoned. But the Government instead of adopting this sensible course, thought proper to send troops against the rioters. No less than six regiments of cavalry and infantry were employed against the miserable toddy drawers of Rumpa without the smallest advantage and the expenditure was enormous. A trifling affair thus assumed the proportions of a war, which is not yet over. In Bombay the public mind was left under constant excitement almost throughout the year. Early in the year an irrigation Bill was introduced into the local Legislative Council. The Bill provided not only for the day of a compulsory cess in all irrigable land, in the Presidency but also for the impressment of labour. The object of the measure was to enable the Government to secure itself against pecuniary loss in the event of any canal proving a failure. The Bill, indeed, was a revival of the

Northern India Canal Act of 1869 which was vetoed by the Duke of Argyll, the then Secretary of State of India, and of Mr. Ravenshaw's abandoned Bengal Irrigation Bill. Hardly had the excitement created by the introduction of the Irrigation Bill subsided, when the dacoities and the incendiarism in the Deccan and the trial of Bulwant Wassdeo Phadke and his friends engaged public attention. During the early part of the year the Famine Commission conducted its investigation in the Presidency and it was there that the labour of the Commission came to a close.

The past year was remarkable for the thought and interest which the English public bestowed upon Indian affairs. Both in Parliament as well as on the platform and in the Magazines, Indian questions were discussed with great earnestness. A very lucid and able article from the pen of Mr. Fawcett appeared in the February number of the Nineteenth Century acquainting the British public with the actual financial position of India ; and on the occasion of the debate on the Indian Loan Bill, Mr. Fawcett moved in the House of Commons for the appointment of Select Committee to enquire into the operation of the Government of India Act of 1858. The debate which arose out of this motion was beyond question the best debate we had for many a year upon Indian famine. The Indian Budget was laid before the House of Commons much earlier than usual ; and what was still more remarkable, the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Stanhope in bringing it forward, pledged the Government to the carrying out of a policy of retrenchment and economy. The report of the Select Committee on Indian Public Works which sat during the sessions of 1878 and 1879 was published last year. The Committee completely demonstrated the unremunerative character of the bulk of the expenditure on so-called reproductive works and recommended that in future the announced outlay on such works be limited to two and a half millions sterling, with the further proviso that the whole amount be raised in India. The deputation of Mr. Lal Mohon Ghose to England as the delegate of the Indian Association also

served to rouse the interest of the English public in Indian affairs. In three admirable public addresses Mr. Ghose acquainted the British public with the actual state of affairs in this country.

In a respective notice of the occurrences of the past year which are unconnected with India, we must first allude to the Zulu War....The Zulu policy of Lord Beaconsfield was exactly analogous to this Afghan policy: the Zulu War was as aggressive as the Afghan War. The Isandula disaster which took place on the 22nd of January, and in which M's 24th Foot suffered as heavily as it had done at Chillianwalla thirty years before, created great sensation in England. Reinforcement were immediately sent to Zulu land and Sir Garnet Wolseley was afterwards entrusted with the chief command there. Cetewayo was at last captured and the Zulu War brought to a close. In Europe the most important event of the last year was the conclusion of an alliance between Austria and Germany and the insistence by the British Goverment upon the execution of the reforms in Asiatic Turkey to which the Porte was pledged. The Russian expedition against the Tekke Turkomans sustained a severe reverse at Grek Teppe.

RELIGIOUS

In the history of all nations and in all countries Religion has always occupied the first place. History points out to us with unmistakeable certainty, that religion has always exercised the greatest influence on the rise and progress of nations. Revolutions have succeeded or failed in their objects according to their being based upon religion or no religion. It is a historical fact that so long as India's religion was pure and undefiled monotheism, she was one of the most civilised nations in the world. She had her Literature, her Sciences, her Arts, her Manufacture, her Commerce, and every thing that constitute a nation's greatness. With idolatry commenced her down-fall. With Protestantism commenced England's

civilisation. We therefore think, the retrospect of a particular year would be incomplete without a narrative of the religious progress which has marked that year. During the year which has just closed upon us, we are glad to say there has been greater activity displayed by religious bodies all over India, Christian missionaries of all denominations have put forth all their strength in proselytising heathen India. Hindooism has tried its best to hold its own against Christianity, but in the thick of the battle has stepped forward Brahmoism to rob Christianity of its prey. Hindooism is doomed. Between Christianity on one side and Brahmoism on the other, it is crumbling into pieces. The question now is which shall be the conqueror : Christianity or Brahmoism ? If events of the last few years be any guide, we say unhesitatingly of the two, Brahmoism shall be the conqueror. Despite the funeral service which Christian missonaries like Dr. Murray Mitchell has been good enough to preach over the corpse of the Brahmo Somaj, it is a stubborn fact that it is exercising vast influence over the destinies of the rising generation of India. The Brahmo Somaj is in our humble opinion, pregnant with the religious progress of the nation. We propose, therefore, to place before our readers, short account of the progress which the Brahmo Somaj has made during the year 1879. In the resume which we are attempting to give here of the work done by the Brahmo Somaj and the Somajes connected therewith, and we are afraid our account must necessarily be incomplete so far as other independent Somajes are concerned. We shall here speak of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj, not as the only Somaj which is doing good work in India but only as typical of all the other Brahmo Somajes. Our readers are already acquainted with the cause which led to the establishmcnt of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj. From the support which those who care for religion, have given to this Somaj, we are glad to find that it is gradually becoming more and more popular, so that it now reckons among its remembres hundreds of those who were driven out of the pale of the theistic movement by the Brahmo Somaj of India for reasons

lest known to itself. The first Annual meeting of this Somaj took place on the 25th of January last, and there was special meeting for considering the Draft Trust-deed of the Prayer Hall on the 1st of March last. The Trust-deed was then approved and settled by a leading number of the Calcutta Bar, printed and circulated among all the members who made every valuable suggestions. A Sub-Committee was appointed to consider and report on the suggestions, and we are in a position to say that this Sub-Committee carefully went through all the suggestions and made a report to the Executive Committee adopting some and rejecting others and the Deed has been accordingly altered. It will now come before a special meeting of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj to be discussed thread-bare before final adoption. For the proper despatch of business, there is a General Managing Committee and an Executive Committees. This Executive Committee have again appointed several Sub-Committees to which we shall presently come. So that before any measure of importance is finally adopted, it has to pass through the Sub-Committees, the Executive Committee, the General Managing Committee and lastly the Annual meeting of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj. The Executive Committee meets every Wednesday evening, at 13 Mirzapore Street, to dispose of all correspondence with the Muffosil Somajes and to despatch all business connected with the internal management of the Somaj. The following Sub-Committees have been appointed during this year, viz., (1) The Mission Sub-Committee, for framing rules for the admission of missionaries. (2) The Trust-deed Sub-Committee for drawing up, printing, circulating and getting the Trust-deed duly executed and registered. (3) The Building Fund Committee for raising and realising subscriptions for the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj Prayer Hall. (4) The Building Committee for preparing plan, estimate and superintending the erection of the building. (5) The Library Sub-Committee for raising funds and forming a Library in connection with the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj and (6) The Tatwakaumudin Sub-Committee for bringing out

the paper regularly and managing it. These Sub-Committees have to submit a monthly report of their work to the Executive Committee which has to submit a quarterly report to the General Committee which meets every quarter. During the year under notice, besides the Annual meeting, there were two special meetings, one already noticed and another on the 29th June, to consider the Draft Trust-deed, three ordinary meetings of the General Committee, and the weekly meetings of the Executive Committee. The Missionaries of the Somaj have been visiting different parts of the country, and the work of propagation carried on most zealously and earnestly. Their work has been from time to time noticed in the Brahmo Somaj column. There have been many members registered in the year under notice. It is evident, therefore, that there is life and activity, and no lack of energy and determination. We hope the above facts are sufficient to silence those who take a pleasure in predicting the death of the theistic movement in India. We wish we could also give the work of the other Brahmo Somajes. But that the theistic movement is spreading far and wide, the following facts will also prove. During 1879, the students' weekly service has been inaugurated in the premises of the City School where hundreds of students congregate on Sunday morning. A daily prayer meeting has also been organised in this every place. New life has been infused into the Ranaghat, the Kostea and the Sadharan India Brahmo Somajes, and the Bogra Alochona Sabha, all of which have been revived during the year. A Sunday School has been opened in the premises of the City School. Prayer meetings have been started at Kalia in Jessore, at Shibhati in Bogra and at Amritsar. A students' weekly service has been inaugurated at Kumarkhali. A new Brahmo Somaj and a Theistic Association has been established at Bhowanipore in the suburbs of Calcutta. Two other Brahmo Somajes have been established at Sarah on the Northern Bengal State Railway and at Balya in Khursedapore. During the year under review, about nine marriages have taken place under the Marriage Act. Several Anushtans or domestic

ceremonies such as Jatakarma, Namakaran, Griha Probesh, Marriages and Sradhs have been performed according to Brahmic rites. The Brahmo Somaj of India has inaugurated the Arya Nari Somaj for the improvement of some of the Brahmo ladies who attend that Somaj. This Somaj has prescribed certain Brotas (religious observances) such as the Savitri Brota, the Lilavati Brota, the Nightingale Brota, &c. The watering of a flower-plant placed in a tub is also one of the observances religiously prescribed, and ladies are to make to distribute Gamchas (bathing towels) to the missionaries on certain occasions....The object of this Ladies' Association is to bring about the religious, moral, intellectual and social improvement of ladies. There are four weekly meetings held every month. Two are devoted to spiritual and moral training, one is devoted to writing essays on and discussing subjects of practical utility in which the ladies themselves take leading parts, gentlemen as a rule being prohibited from joining; the other is a purely social gathering in which gentlemen and ladies meet and lectures are delivered on topics of general importance, sometimes accompanied by experiments. While on this subject we may as well observe that Mrs. Shib Narain Agnihotry of Lahore, Mrs. Grish Chunder Mozumdar of Barisal and Miss Balabehen, daughter of Rao Bahadoor Bholanath Sarabhai, President of the Ahmedabad Brahmo Somaj, have, on the occasion of the Anniversary of those Somajes, delivered extempore sermons to the Brahmicas assembled there. The Brahmo Somaj, we may say without the least fear of contradiction is taking the lead in matters of female education and female emancipation. It is now the centre of social and moral improvements of all kinds. The past year has also been pregnant with events of a far more hopeful nature. Two Nepaulese young men discarded their faith in idolatry and openly registered themselves as members of the Darjeeling Brahmo Somaj. One Bhootea gentleman bearing the name of Tendook supplied the Darjeeling Brahmo Somaj with wood for the Mandir there, free of charge, and over and above that, subscribed Rs. 100 to

the Building Fund. One Sikh gentleman, Lal Singh has joined the Brahmo Somaj and expressed a desire of being trained up for a missionary. Two Hindoo Brahmin students threw off their sacred thread and entered the Brahmo Church. With all this, need the Brahmo Somaj despair? No. The progress is slow but nevertheless sure.

INTELLECTUAL

The intellectual includes the progress which education has made in this country. Thanks to the British Government, education is spreading far and wide. It is gradually filtrating among the masses. Schools and Colleges are springing up in every village and every town of Bengal. The City School which was started during the year under notice, attracted a large number of pupils, although the schooling fees are higher than in any private school in Calcutta. There is such a rush of students that the proprietors find it difficult to accomodate them in one building. Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagor's School has been raised to the status of a College. The Rungpore College has been abolished and the Berhampore College is threatened with extinction. Our readers must have seen what rapid progress education made in Bengal in 1878 from our review of the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, and we have not the slightest doubt in 1879, there has been considerable addition to the number of schools of all classes, which increase number of pupils. There is not the slightest doubt there is a yearning for education, so much so that the Government now has to spend much less on education than it used to do a few years ago. The increase in the number of private schools is a happy omen. Newspapers both in English and Vernacular are multiplying fast, and show an increase in the intellectual activity of the people. That Government has after all found it desirable to promote the natives of this country into higher offices of the State proves beyond a doubt that we are making rapid progress in the

cultivation of our intellect. The public Associations in different parts of the country also testify to the fact of our intellectual progress. The appointment of natives as Professors and Assistant Professors in Government Colleges and as first class Inspectors of schools is also a significant fact. There is a Bengali in the Syndicate of Calcutta University. There is a native on the Bench of the High Court in Bengal, and natives are discharging their duties in the Subordinate Judicial and Executive Services with credit to themselves and honor to their country. This shews intellectual progress of no mean order. There are at present more than a dozen of Bengalis prosecuting their studies in England and Scotland, and there is a native of Bengal employed as a Professor in Russia. One of the greatest monument of English rule in India is the impetus it has given to intellectual pursuits by natives of the country. Intimately connected with this subject is

FEMALE EDUCATION.

This is a subject which is pregnant with the fate of India. We have studied history in vain if we have not learnt that with one half of the population in total darkness there is no hope for the regeneration of our country. Recollecting what influence educated mothers have always exercised over their sons, the help which educated wives have always rendered to their husbands in discharging their duties, notably among others, that Mr. Fawcett with his physical disabilities could not have rendered any service but for Mrs. Fawcett, it is high time that our countrymen should pay greater attention to this subject. It is gratifying to learn that female education is advancing,...with rapid strides. But still it is progressing. We have already seen from the Report of the Director of Public Instruction which comes up to March 1879, that there are two Government schools with 270 pupils, 339 Aided schools with 8,179 pupils, 130 Aided Zenana schools with 2,017 pupils and 72 Private schools with 2,031 pupils, altogether 543 schools with 12,497 pupils besides 11,235

girls in Patshalas studying with boys. Of these there are 37 in the Higher stage, 1,545 in the Middle stage, 6,741 in the Upper Primary stage and 15,409 in the Lower Primary stage. Although the figure 23,732 is only a small fraction of the Bengal population of girls and women, still it is something. The Bethune School always occupies the first place. In 1878, one girl passed the Entrance, two passed the middle scholarship examination in English and one in Vernacular. In the year under notice, the status of the Bethune School has been raised by the addition of a lecturer qualified to teach the First Arts Course. The establishment of the school has been strengthened. Better accomodation has been provided for the boarders by additions to the buildings and the grant has been raised from Rs. 650 to Rs. 750 a month. The Eden Female School occupies the second place. It contains 153 pupils, of whom 26 are learning English. Two girls have gone up to the middle scholarship examination from the Bethune School and two from the Eden School. The result is not yet known. We are glad to say that the National Indian Association is doing much good by means of Mary Carpenter Scholarships to encourage female education in India. The Uttarpura Hitakari Sabha is actively engaged in the cause of female education by means of scholarships. Forty-seven girls presented themselves for the Hitakari Scholarships and twenty-six succeeded. It is more gratifying to learn that girls from Furridpore, Tipperah, Burisal, Pubna, Orissa and Lohardangah have passed the primary scholarship examinations. Besides the schools, there are four Zenana Agencies viz., the American Agency, the Church Society's Agency, the Church of Scotland Agency, and the Free Church Agency for the dissemination of education among our ladies. Then the success of Miss Kadumbini Bose at the Entrance Examination has encouraged girls from the North-Western Provinces, the Bombay and the Madras Presidency to go up to the Entrance Examination. So altogether there is progress in female education. There are 10 girls' schools at Joypore educating 789 girls.

SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL

Social progress in a nation very much depends upon its religious, moral and intellectual development. We are glad to say English education is working marvellous changes in our social organisation. It is impossible to resist the tide. The waves of enlightenment set in motion by English education are lashing against orthodox customs, habits and manners of the people, and beating them into pieces. Ancient prejudices and hoary-headed superstitions are vanishing like smoke into the thin air under the light of Western civilisation. No doubt this is not true with regard to the great bulk of the nation but there cannot be the slightest doubt that a beginning has been made by a few native gentlemen who have thrown their heart and soul into the matter. Caste-prejudices are crumbling into pieces and this itself is a great gain. There are now a number of our countrymen, though they are few, who are prepared to mix with Europeans on terms of social equality and friendship and the intercourse between the European and the Asiatic races is growing more and more close. We are glad to find that the National Indian Association is taking an active part in promoting social intercourse between the two races. It is inviting discussion on the subject and it is very hopeful that opportunities are given to our countrymen to express their views fearlessly and candidly. But mere discussions will not do. Promoters of National Indian Association in India should be practical in paving the way for freer and closer intercourse. They must be prepared to treat the native gentlemen on terms of equality. They must not assume patronising airs. They must not seek out the rich and wealthy only but the middle class who are only prepared for such intercourse. There are a number of our countrymen who do not fill respectable positions in life but who nevertheless, are fit to associate with Englishmen on terms of equality. There are certain prejudices among our English friends which must be sacrificed. Respect must be paid into national customs and manners so far as they do not contravene ideas

of decency and propriety. On the other hand our countrymen should also be prepared to make considerable sacrifices. We say the ground is ready. It is for Englishmen and ladies to sow and reap the fruit. At first such intercourse must be confined to a few. It will then spread far and wide. It is for Englishmen to take us up by our hands. In order to do this, they must descend a few steps perhaps. Those who mind for this will not succeed. It was only the other day that a number of Bengali ladies and gentlemen were invited by an Englishman occupying one of the highest offices under the Government, and at the family table sat Englishmen and ladies and Bengali gentlemen and ladies on terms of equality. Such intercourse is desirable and such intercourse alone is effectual in bridging the gulf between the two races. There are Bengali ladies, though their number may be counted on fingers' end, who are not shut up within the walls of a Zenana and who have the moral courage to mix freely in society with their brethren of the other sex. Every year additions are being made to their number. Social parties where men and women meet and converse together are growing plentiful, and altogether our society is growing more improved every year. A *Social Union* was established at Dacca on the 13 December last. The main principles for inculcation and practice fixed upon are—(1) Love of truth, honesty, and justice for their own sake and no sympathy for crime ; (2) Loyalty to the reigning sovereign ; (3) Reverence for, and obedience to, parental authority, and love to brothers and respect towards superiors ; (4) Civility, good manners and etiquette ; (5) Punctuality and discipline in matters public and private ; (6) Self-respect and decision of character ; (7) Sense of duty and honest performance thereof ; (8) Due deference to socio-religious customs ; and (9) Temperance.

Physical education is also gaining ground. The school for Physical Improvement is prospering. In almost every school, attention is paid to physical exercises. In Dacca physical education has been so far successful as to draw forth the following remark from His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor :—

"The athletic pre-eminence of the Dacca students is scarcely sufficient compensation for their scholastic deficiencies." We hope public schools for giving physical training will multiply. In Calcutta Babu Nobo Gopal Mitter's National School for physical training deserves prominent notice.

PUBLIC ASSOCIATIONS

Foremost among the public associations stands the British Indian Association. It is the oldest and the richest political association in Bengal. We are glad to find that during the year under notice the Association has been very busy. There was scarcely any legislative measure of importance which did not receive considerable attention from this Association. When the question of India bearing the costs of the Afghan war was being hotly discussed in Parliament, the British Indian Association did not lose time to memorialise Parliament on the subject. The Right Hon'ble Mr. Gladstone presented the petition to the House of Commons and our readers are aware of the result of the debate in Parliament on this question, 125 being against and 137 in favour of the measure, so that the fate of India was decided only by a majority of 12. When the question of the abolition of Import Duties on coarser cotton came to be discussed the British Indian Association sent a deputation to the Viceroy. Lord Lytton's treatment of the deputation was most discourteous, uncivil and unworthy of the high position which His Excellency occupied. Then this Association memorialised against some of the provisions of the Civil Procedure Amendment Bill, the Master and the Servants Bill, the Factory Bill, the extension of the Deccan Ryots' Relief Bill to Bengal, the Amended Rent Bill and the Religious Endowment Bill. In reply to a circular issued by the Famine Commission, this Association submitted a sketch of the agricultural condition of the country and made some very valuable suggestion. The Committee of this Association sent a vigorous protest

against the rule for submission of petitions on legislative measure through the Local Government. They urged that exception might at least be made in favour of public associations. The question of retrenchment also occupied the attention of this Association. On the whole the Association seems to have been working hard so far as petitioning the Government and the English Parliament goes. The Association is rich and can very well provide funds for a permanent deputation in England but for some reason or other, this Association does not intend to do that. By the very constitution of this Association it is exceedingly conservative and we are afraid the spirit of the times is growing Liberal every day. This conservative spirit stands in the way of its co-operating with the other associations in any movement of Public importance. We think it a great misfortune to the country that such an influential association should stand on conservative principles. However there is ample field for work by all the associations in India collectively as well as individually. But it is exceedingly desirable that all the associations should, if possible, combine on any question of public importance and unfurl the flag of "Unity is strength". The Indian Association next deserves our attention. Though new, it is, we are happy to say, gradually gaining the confidence of the people. While the British Indian association represents the Aristocracy, if we may use the word, of Bengal, the Indian Association represents the people. If there were anything like a Parliament here, the British Indian Association would form the House of Lords and the Indian Association the House of Commons. It is the people who constitute the majority of a nation, and any attempt to represent the millions deserves the highest encouragement. There were three public meetings convened by this Association during the year under notice. The first was on the 27th March at the Town Hall on the question of the attention of the Import duties and on the cost of the Afghan war. It was very numerously attended. The second was on the 29th July at the Albert Hall on the question of Mass

education. A community was formed to adopt means for promoting Mass education by establishing Night Schools and by publication of popular books. Several Night Schools have been established. Beyond this, the Association has not been able to do anything on this most important question. The third was on the 3rd September at the Town Hall (1) to thank Mr. Bright and the committee of management in connection with the meeting on India held at Willis's Rooms in London, (2) to consider the advisability of raising funds for the establishment of a permanent deputation in London, (3) to consider the rules recently published with regard to the creation of a Native Civil Service. This was one of the most enthusiastic meeting ever held in India. The Indian Association deputed Mr. Lal Mohon Ghose to London, and our readers are already aware of the excitement and stir which Mr. Ghose's public utterances in England caused. The Civil Service Rules were published in the *Times*, within forty-eight hours of Mr. Ghose's speech at Willis's Rooms. By deputing a representative to England the Indian Association had done a thing unprecedented in the manuals of Indian history and the public sympathy shown to Mr. Ghose in England is pregnant with the good of India. The Association is at present engaged in raising funds for a permanent deputation and has already succeeded in raising some. With the results of Mr. Ghose's labours in England before the Indian public, we hope our countrymen will not lose time to respond to the calls of the Association for subscription. Branches of the Association had been established at Darjeeling, Julpiguri, Kandi, Gopalpore. Political missionaries were sent to different parts of the country to arouse public feeling. Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee visited Murshedabad, Krishnanagore, Dacca and the North-Western Provinces and was every where most cordially and enthusiastically received. Babus Kali Sunkur Sookul, the Cobden Medalist and Sitala Kant Chatterjee visited Mymensingh, Babus Dwarka Nath Ganguly and Dwarka Nath Ghose visited Darjeeling, Julpiguri, Dinajpore, Rungpore and Bogra and Babu Jogendra Nath Ghose visited Burdwan.

This system of sending political missionaries is altogether unique and capable of doing much good to the country. Overshadowing all is the attempt of this infant but powerful Association to draw up a scheme of Representative Government. As this is a measure of vast importance it must take time to mature and ripen. So altogether this Association has done a good deal of work during the year under review. There are again local associations doing good work in their own way. We regret our space does not enable us to give more detailed accounts of the work done by these associations, but it is as well to mention them to convey to our readers an idea of the political and social activity which has struck root in our country. It is very gratifying to find that the students of our country are taking active parts in some of the public movements. There is new life, new vigor which has been imparted into them. There is an association of the College students called the *Students' Association*. The manly stand which they made against early marriage last year shew that English education has borne fruit in this country. It is also gratifying to find that they are setting their face against intemperance. There is an association, *Purba Bunga Sammilani Sabha*, started by students of Eastern Bengal residing in Calcutta, for giving pecuniary help to indigent students to prosecute their studies, helping students in sickness and distress, and for cultivating social intercourse with one another. There is the *Backergunge Hitaishini Sabha* for promoting female education in Backergunge. The *Vicrampore Hitashadhini Sabha* started with alike object and for general improvement in Vicrampore. There are the *Jessore Union* and the *Sylhet Union* having like objects in view. These are all in Calcutta from which movements are directed. In Dacca there is a network of associations—the *Hindu Dharma Rukhini Sabha* and the *Vicrampore Hitashadhini Sabha* in both of which orthodox Hindus take part, The *Landholders Association*, the *Students' Association*, the Branch *National Indian Association*, the *Philanthropic Society*, and the *Peoples' Association*. During the famine in East Bengal in the year under notice, the

Philanthropic Association sent...to the muffosil to ascertain the account of distress and considerably aided the Magistrate of the District in relief works. The *Saraswat Somaj* at Dacca is an association of the Pandits. This association is striving to revive the study of Sanskrit literature. It holds an annual examination of students studying in different *tols* and awards prizes and scholarships. There is an annual meeting held which very much resembles the conference of the Senate to confer university degrees. It is gradually growing more popular and we wish it success. There is hardly any district in Bengal where there is not at least one association. All these associations are the work of English education, and show that there is increasing activity and life in the people of Bengal. It must be remembered that we are awakening from a slumber of eyes, and the progress that we are making, though slow, is sure.

OURSELVES

We cannot conclude the retrospect without a word or two for ourselves. We have no complaint to make for want of public patronage....We have humbly tried to render ourselves useful at the least expense to our subscribers. How far we have succeeded it is for them to say. We have been for a long time wishing to add another sheet without increasing the subscription, but we regret we cannot do this without additional patronage either by way of subscriptions or advertisements. We hope our numerous friends and patrons will help us to accomplish our object. We also hope that those of our subscribers who have not yet paid up their subscriptions up to date, will kindly do so without any delay. We take this opportunity of conveying our heart-felt thanks to our numerous subscribers, patrons, friends, sympathisers, well-wishers as also to our contributors and wish all of them health, happiness, prosperity and Happy New Year.

NATIVE CIVIL SERVICE

THE mountain in labour, has at last, as we anticipated, brought forth a mouse. Those of our contemporaries who sang hallelujahs in honor of the Civil Service Rules—whose eyes were dim with tears of joy at the expected increased prospects of their countrymen—who did not feel the slightest qualm of conscience to congratulate the present Government on the publication of the new rules and were profuse in their heart-felt thanks to Lord Lytton for the redemption of old pledges, now look blue with dismay. We now see horror and disappointment depicted on their faces. The whole country is ringing with cries of disappointed hopes. We wish we could, from the very outset, present an united front to the Government on this most important question. But that was not to be. Many years must, we apprehend, pass before educated India will be able to unite constitutionally and lawfully for the interests of the country. But what will unity do, we may be asked, when the Government is against us? To those who ask this question, we must say in reply that it is English Government which Providence has placed us under. It is a Government which respects lawful unity—which honors public opinion. By uniting in this matter we could have at least shewn that there was a public opinion in India opposed to the rules. We could have shewn that English education was not lost upon us—that we understood our own interests. But all this is of no use now. The fiat has gone forth. The axe that was uplifted, has struck; and we must now reap the whirl-wind, having sown the storm. In our last we published the names of the newly nominated probationers. In this article we wish to say a few words upon the resolution by which the Government of India accepts the nominations. When the rules were published, it was provided that two classes of our countrymen would be nominated:—
(1) Probationers under the age of 25. (2) Persons above 25 of proved merit and ability in the Government Service. We naturally thought that persons of the latter class would be

more largely employed for with them only the experiment was likely to succeed. There are persons in the Subordinate services who would do justice to any higher posts, but it seems now we were greatly mistaken even in this. In para 3 of the Resolution it is stated : "The correspondence with Her Majesty's Government thus shows that the main object of the Rules was, not to transfer to the superior ranks of the civil administration officers of a class whose services have already been secured by Government in the inferior ranks, but to attract to the service of Government young men of good family and social position, possessed of fair abilities and education, to whom the offices open to them in the inferior ranks or Uncovenanted Service, have not proved a sufficient inducement to come forward for employment. The Governor-General in Council considers that the *rule* should be to appoint this class of young men. Appointments from the second of the two classes above described should be the *exception*, and confined to persons who have obtained great distinction in the offices they have held or the professions they have followed ; persons, in short, whom the Government would spontaneously desire to appoint to superior offices. It is in these exceptional cases, for which fair but not undue provision should be made that the principle of selection by merit would come into play. But there should be no need to *search* for officers of this class. Their merit should be so striking as naturally to suggest them for responsible employment." We now find that it is the intention of the Government to attract to this Service *young men* (1) of good family and social position (2) possessed of *fair* ability and education. There is no test proposed of what would be *fair* ability and education. If we judge from educational statistics in this country, we do not think we should be wrong in stating that, with few exceptions, the great bulk of educated natives belong to the great middle class, and that it is always difficult to find good family and social position (according to what is meant here) combined with *fair* ability and education. The inevitable consequence would be, as is exemplified

in the majority of the nominations made, that while it would be easy to observe the rules so far as good family and social position are concerned, it would not always be easy to find a combination of both. With two exceptions—Mr. Pestonji and Babu Nanda Krishna Bose, (although we are still of opinion that there were more competent men in the Service than even these) in all the nominations, we regret to say, more attention has been paid to their family and social position than ability and education. Even in the case of the first, it would have been better if the public were told what sort of education Mr. Pestonji received in England. It is stated that Kumar Suttya Sree Ghosal "has been ascertained to be competent and able." Would it not have been more satisfactory to the public to know how and in what manner the ability and competency of this gentleman were tested? The impression in the minds of the public is that there has been a jobbery in this matter. Surely it is worth while to remove this impression. Then the standard of "high attainments" set up by these nominations does not seem to be very attractive, for one of the candidates is said to unite "in an unusual degree, good birth with high attainments" simply from the fact of his having. "passed first of 202 candidates at the Entrance examination and two years later, head of his year at the High Proficiency examination." All this shews how the Native Civil Service will lower the intellectual standard now obtaining amongst us. Then let us see whether Rs. 200 to begin with will attract to service young men "to whom the offices open to them in the inferior ranks of the uncovenanted service, have not proved a sufficient inducement to come forward for employment." Rs. 200 is the initial pay of both the Subordinate executive and judicial services. In order to attract persons "of good family and social position possessed of fair abilities and education", the minimum pay ought to have been, at least, something more than Rs. 200, the minimum pay in the Subordinate services. It would be a pretty long time, we think, before gentlemen, entering the Native Civil Services, rise to posts superior in pay to the Subordinate services. We

doubt whether the experiment will succeed at all. To us the Government appears to be enacting ludicrous farce. Is this the Service which the people wanted ? Is this throwing open the doors of higher posts to the natives of this country ? Is this the result of the Civil Service agitation ? We hope not. The Civil Service agitation should go on till the minimum age is raised to 23. The agitation to admit us into the higher offices of the state should go on till we succeed. We did not want a Native Service, and we shall not be satisfied with the one which the Tory Ministry has vouchsafed unto us. We want to enter into the Covenanted Civil Service by dint of merit. We do not want favour or patronage. That Covenanted Civil Service we shall have, or we shall never be satisfied.

8 January 1880

THE BRAHMO YEAR BOOK FOR 1879. I

BY MISS. S. D. COLLET

THE name of Miss Collet is not new in the Brahmo Somaj : it has already become a household word in many Brahmo circles. Her long and strenuous advocacy of the claims of the Brahmo Somaj on public attention has endeared her name to all of us. So we need say very little in the way of her introduction. For the last five years she has been our faithful historian. The careful assiduity with which she has collected facts and the rare tact with which she has used them entitle her to the highest praise and at once establish her claim as the greatest living authority on several Brahmic questions. In this respect she excels even those who have long lived and worked even at the head and centre of the movement itself. Lacking that pre-eminently cautious and judicious spirit and that strict fidelity to facts, even the best and most well informed amongst us are not so far reliable, as regards the true history, of our Church. It is rather curious, albeit it is true, that the Indian theists living in the midst of, and actually playing our

parts in the very scenes which form her history, have many times to look up to her as the authority for the real incidents in connection with any event in our Church. And what is her reward for all this labour ? Is she pecuniarily a gainer ? Not to speak of the comparatively little interest taken by the European public, and consequently the little encouragement she finds at home, let us record with some degree of shame and sorrow that Brahmos themselves for whom she has worked and suffered so long, have not sufficiently encouraged her in this undertaking. We hope in future the theists of India, will try to remove this slur from their name.

Now to turn to the subject-matter of the present number. The first noticeable feature in the present number is the clear, lucid and exhaustive history of the Brahmo marriage controversy from its earliest dawn to its latest phases. The whole question will be seen as in a mirror. In addition to her remarkably developed historical faculty, she seems to enjoy the rare gift of presenting her facts in such a way as to make up a complete and perfect picture. Besides, the publication of this history is extremely opportune, first, it will clear away the foolish objections against the Act III of 1872, a sort of vague and undefined fear, that seem to linger in some minds ; secondly, it will place the whole question on a right footing before the European public who otherwise might have been misled by Mr. Leonard's rather inaccurate account of it. In this history Miss Collet faithfully records all the phases of the controversy, (1) its ceremonial transitions, (2) its social bearings, (3) its legislative developments. She carefully notes the successive improvements introduced in the ritual, remarks the stages through which the standard of marriagable age has risen upwards and gives a vivid idea of the large expansion of thought that has taken place in connection with this matter. This history is specially interesting when viewed in the light of the controversy about the Act III of 1872, that we carried on sometime ago, with the Adi-Brahmo Somaj. It is generally contended by the other party that the Act in its present form is unbrahmic, its

provisions equally extending to atheists and sceptics. Miss Collet's history conclusively proves that if anybody was to blame, (if any blame is to be attached to that account) it was the Adi-Brahmo Somaj that is to blame for it. It was their opposition which compelled the legislature for the third time, to remove the Bill and give it general character in which it was first framed by Mr. Maine. The second Bill contemplated by Mr. Stephen contained the following declarations. (1) "I., A. B., am a member of the Brahmo Somaj, (2) I., A. B., declare in the presence of Almighty God, that I take the C. D. to be my lawful wedded wife." These two or similar declarations would have, according to our friends, removed one of the causes of their antipathy to the measure, but it will be seen from Miss Collet's history, that the opposition offered by the parent Somaj was the cause of reverting to the old general character of the Bill. Miss Collet also successfully meets the objection against the presence of the registrar. She says :—

"But although there can be no doubt that the Act has greatly encouraged and promoted Brahmo marriage, it will be seen that many Brahmos have not taken advantage of it to legalise their marriages. Of the 39 marriages before the Act, only 21 were retrospectively registered (according to Section 20, p. 38); but here some allowance may be reasonably made for the difficulty of producing witness to long-past events. Yet after the Act, 12 marriages out of 54 were celebrated independently of it, and of course remain unregistered ; although with the exception of one case in 1875, where the bride was only 13, the conditions of Act III appear to have been faithfully observed, as is frequently stated in the newspaper notice of such marriages." What, then, are the objections to the Act which still linger among a minority of those Theists who marry with Brahmic rites ? First, there is in some minds an idea that the Registrar is put on the place of a priest, which deprives the marriage of its character as a sacrament. This (which is the Conservative Brahmos' idea) is clearly a mis-apprehension of the facts.

The Registrar need not utter a word throughout the whole ceremony ; all that is required of him by the Act is that he should witness the marriage, and should have the distinct words spoken by each party to the other, "I, [A] take thee [B] to be my lawful wife [or husband]." (See Section 11, p. 37) ; afterwards certifying the facts of the marriage in writing, as in the third schedule of the Act (See p. 39)." As regards the other question, the negative character of the declaration to be signed by the parties, she says :— "Secondly, objection is taken to the declaration, "I do not profess the Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Mahomedan, &c., religion," partly on account of its merely negative character, and partly for its definite repudiation of the Hindu religion, which has usually been that in which the Brahmos have been born and bred. Many who are thoroughly Brahmic in the repudiation of polytheism, idolatry, and even caste, still cling to the dream that in some sense they still belong to the old faith of their country, only purified from its corruptions ; and to utter deliberately the words, "I do not profess the Hindu religion," is a step which they do not like to take."... "Here we come upon one of the peculiar characteristics of the Brahmo Somaj as at present existing,—its lack of a hard and fast outline that can distinguish it indisputably from other religious communities. Pure Monotheism is, *per se*, quite capable of being the centre of a very rigid system. But the sympathetic and appreciative spirit towards other faiths which is, in one respect, among the most hopeful and gracious features of Brahmoism is, at the same time, the source of (what I cannot but regard as) two of its greatest weaknesses, viz., (1) a reluctance in some quarters to formulate a distinctive ideal of faith and life which shall pursue its own independent career, and (2) a not infrequent tendency to relax the hold on those higher Brahmic standards, personal or social, which are beyond the sympathy of surrounding friends and neighbours. Of course, if a Brahmo does not feel that he has absolutely broken with Hinduism (and such may no doubt be the case with brave men who are quite above the weakness of forsaking an

unpopular standard once really adopted), or if, having utterly renounced Hinduism himself, he marries a woman who has not done so, it would be untrue in him to make, or to urge his bride to make, the declarations in Act III. And doubtless Brahmo marriage is a most important step in itself quite independently of any co-operation with the Legislature. Let this be heartily admitted. Yet such co-operation is surely most desirable, if not too dearly brought.... I cannot but hope that a reconsideration of these facts may help to outweigh the natural dislike to the merely negative declarations of the Act, at least among those Brahmos who can conscientiously sign him."

As regards the standard of marriagable age, the history conclusively shows that since the passing of the Act, there has been an unmistakable upward tendency of that standard. Her questions from the writings of both the contending parties in the first controversy are extremely interesting and will give the most careless reader a correct idea of the position of each. She concludes her long and faithful history of the controversy, by taking notice of another foolish objection against the Act, which we are sorry to notice is shared by a number of our friends. Let us quote her own words :—"In connection with this I must reluctantly refer to a very base objection which has been recently brought against the Act by the Calcutta correspondent of a Hindu provincial newspaper, viz., that "men and women of the most questionable character have taken advantage of it to get themselves married," and that "it is high time that the Act should be replaced, or so modified as not to sanction" such marriages. What is the real meaning of this? Not, that the Act offers any special facilities to young men for contracting degrading unions,—its provisions all tell unmistakably in an opposite direction ;—but that if persons of adult age, beyond parental control, who have already lived irregularly, are minded to amend their ways so far, at least, as to accept the restraints and responsibilities of lawful wedlock, they should be prevented from doing so, and be thrust back into hopeless

evil. Once a criminal, always a criminal. May such a ruinous and demoralizing doctrine never find acceptance with the Legislature of Christian England." We say Amen !

The comprehensive register of Brahmo marriages celebrated up to this time is, as we have already said, a valuable contribution to Brahmo statistics, and we strongly advise everyone who is interested in the cause of social reform in the Brahmo Somaj, to be supplied with a copy of the present number. It will gladden one's heart to glance over the long array of facts and figures brought forward and a strong impression of the life working within the Church, is sure to be left on the mind. There are other features of the Book which will be noticed in our next issue.

15 January 1880

THE BRAHMO YEAR BOOK 1879. FOR II BY MISS S. D. COLLET

THE pressure of other matter on our columns did not allow us to conclude our remarks on Miss Collet's Year Book in our last issue. The next feature we come to is her Retrospect of the year 1878-79. Here also she is anxious to do justice to all parties concerned. The Adi-Brahmo Somaj, though never condescending to supply materials does not altogether escape her notice. The little that could be gleaned from other papers and recorded in its name she has recorded as an impartial observer. The works of the provincial Somajes of this country and the works of other theistic bodies in Europe have also received their due share of attention from her. In short her net little volume is a comprehensive manual for all those who wish, at a glance, to have a view of the whole theistic movement, both here and abroad. After a view of the work done by the Adi-Brahmo Somaj she passes off to Babu K. C. Sen's Somaj. In one respect the last year was an important, a very important, chapter in the history of that

branch of the Church, for it was during the last year that some of those doctrines, which for the last 10 years were being privately propagated, were broadly and publicly stated. This new course opened with the last anniversary lecture on "Am I an Inspired Prophet" which Miss Collet is right in estimating as "not a merely aimless flow of rhetoric, but a distinct confession of faith and manifesto of policy." It has escaped the notice of the public so long, that every doing and saying of our friends during the last year is connected as if by links, with the defence put up after the marriage. The plea of inspiration put up on that occasion, and the subsequent controversy on the doctrine, made it further necessary to explain the doctrine more fully. The lecture on Christ if closely observed, was nothing more than an exposition of the theory of perennial inspiration in great men. The subsequent utterances in the Devotional column of the *Sunday Mirror* were also in the same strain and point to the same direction. All these unmistakably point to a new policy of conduct and what other eyes than Miss Collet's could be expected to detect it.

The new policy inaugurated by Babu K. C. Sen, is the open and straight-forward enunciation of his claims to singularity and autocratic sway. Miss Collet describes the difference between Babu K. C. Sen's party and the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj in the following terms. "On the other hand, the tendency of that small section of the Brahmo Somaj which is still held by Mr. Sen, has been more and more towards the consolidation of a spiritual authority. In epitomizing the proceedings of the Brahmo Somaj of India, I have selected them exclusively from its own organs, so as to avoid any uncertainty as to the mere facts. Whatever startling assertions made elsewhere concerning Mr. Sen's recent course may or may not be ultimately established as true, the statements in this *Year-Book* cannot be gainsaid, for they have all been published by himself or by his closest co-adjutors. These are the things which they themselves wish us to approve and believe. And when we find Mr. Sen, on the very Anniversary

Day of the whole Brahmo Somaj, saying, before a large audience—"I am not as ordinary men are—I say this deliberately ;" "The Lord said I was to have...perennial and perpetual inspiration from heaven ;—and "men should remember that to protest against the cause which I uphold, is to protest against the dispensations of God Almighty ;"—and when we find that this view forms the fundamental background of nearly all the most characteristic proceedings of the Brahmo Somaj of India for the last eighteen months, we can scarcely doubt that Mr. Sen claims an abnormal kind of spiritual authority. And when we find it asserted of him and his immediate followers that they "have entered upon a new sphere of spiritual activity which threatens to revolutionize the whole church,"—a sphere in which they can hold "spirited dialogue" and "sustained conversation with Heaven's kings",—and when the published specimens of that conversation are sometimes so irreverent and puerile, sometimes so vindictive and narrow, as to their supposed heavenly nature ;—when we see all this we cannot but sorrowfully recognize that deification of blind impulse, unchecked by any opposing force, either in the mind of the individual himself or in the action of those around him proved the ruin of so many religious reformers.

"In short, the division of last year has enabled the two incompatible parties in the Bengal section of the Brahmo Somaj to develop freely, each according to its nature. The one has advanced towards Autocracy, the other towards a Commonwealth. The Commonwealth is founded on the normal principles of Progressive Brahmoism, and cherishes all its noble traditions. Its members are not brilliant writers, nor sensational lecturers ; they have as yet taken no conspicuous place in the eyes of the European public, which often doubts whether the Brahmo Somaj has not altogether collapsed. But they are steadily going on with their work, independently of praise, nobly living or faithfully dying, sowing the seeds which shall surely spring up for the future welfare of India."

THE GROWTH OF NATIVE LOYALTY IN INDIA

THE remarkable article which under the above heading has recently appeared in the London *Times*, demands more than a passing notice. Whoever the writer of the paper may be (its authorship has been ascribed to Mr. Roper Lethbridge, the Indian Press Commissioner now at home on furlough) he is a staunch supporter of the new frontier policy which Lord Lytton was specially sent out to execute ; and the main object the writer has in view, is to prove that the carrying out of that policy has had an important effect in promoting the loyalty of the people of this country. He would have the English public believe, that Natives enthusiastically approve of the invasion of Afghanistan, and that the advance of British troops beyond the frontier has convinced them of the ability of their rulers to protect their splendid Asiatic Empire against Moscovite aggression. The writer, at the outset, points out "that in most political and social questions, there is a definite public opinion among the Natives of India ;" and he holds that whenever there is anything like unanimity of expression among all the Native journals it may be assumed they give a fairly impartial view of Native public opinion. The Native papers have expressed themselves with remarkable unanimity about the Vernacular Press Act, the Arms Act and the admission of our countrymen into the Civil Service. But the typical Anglo-Indian would, dealing these matters, unhesitatingly assert, that there is no such thing as public opinion among the Natives of India. But then it suits his purpose to quote the authority of Native journals in support of his position, he comes forward and maintains that when these journals are unanimous, they express a fairly impartial view of Native public opinion. But let that pass.

The writer in the *Times* says that during the five years that elapsed between the beginning of 1873 and the end of 1877, public opinion in upper India was distinctly distrustful of the courage and strength of their English rulers. He then goes on to say :—

"Every one knew perfectly well that in 1873, the Afghan Envoy had visited Lord Northbrook at Simla, simply for the purpose of communicating to him the advances made by the Russians towards Cabul, the fears entertained by Shere Ali of the object of these advances, and his desire to be assured of English aid in case of need ; and everyone also knew that Lord Northbrook had told the Envoy that Russia was our friend, and that we could neither say nor do anything that might offend her. In the face of these current events, all the better classes of Natives were deeply versed in whole history of the Eastern Question and especially of its Central Asian section ; they knew all about the motives and causes of the Crimean war, of the old Afghan troubles, of the various Persian negotiations. They were well acquainted with the recorded opinions of such English statesmen as Lord Palmerston, and with the writings of men like Sir Henry Rawlinson and Vemberry ; and they contrasted all these things with Lord Northbrook's references to the good understanding with Russia in his reply to Shere Ali, and, later on, with Mr. Gladstone's Bulgarian atrocities and bag and baggage policy. Now, the normal attitude of the educated Native mind prior to all these perturbing events and reflections is well given by Mr. James Routledge in his "English Rule and Native Opinion in India". Mr. Routledge, a singularly fearless and acute observer, who was editor of the *Friend of India*, says :—

"If I were asked what Native India thinks of our foreign policy, I would say that Native India, on the whole is critical ; is not displeased to see us checkmated in our great designs ; is rather glad, indeed, when events remind us that we are normal. ... But I believe also, and on sound and resonable grounds, that Natives of India would not wish to, at any rate, exchange English for Russian rule, although the latter might provide for India careers in life which the former in fact refuses."

This was Mr. Routledge's view of Native public opinion in its general undisturbed state ; and it is exactly my own view too. By the end of 1875 and the beginning of 1876—that is, towards the close of Lord Northbrook's rule—masterly

inactivity had time to produce some of its results. The intimate relations between the Russian officers in Turkestan and the Amir of Cabul were known in every bazaar in Upper India : and it was also well-known that the Amir, so far from extending the same courtesies to English officers, had suddenly refused to allow Sir Douglas Forsyth's little band to cross an inch of Afghan territory on their way home from Kashgar, while we were still turning the other cheek to the smiter.

To shew that the Natives of Upper India had, in consequence of the continued progress of Russia towards the Indian frontier, become distrustful of the ability of their English rulers to defend their Asiatic Empire against Moscovite invasion, the writer in the *Times* gives a number of brief extracts from Hindustani journals. These extracts only indicate that our countrymen believed that England feared Russia and that Russia would some day invade India. If this had been the belief of the people of Upper India from 1873 to 1878, the same belief, we may assure the writer in the *Times*, exists up to this day. But that view does not suit the purposes of Lord Lytton's apologist. He asserts in the most emphatic manner that the "spirited foreign policy" of Lord Beaconsfield has completely eradicated the belief mentioned above and convinced the Natives of India that England can and will protect her Indian Empire against Moscovite aggression. How has this remarkable change been brought about ? The answer which the writer in the *Times* gives to this important question is amusing. The despatch of 7,000 Indian sepoys to the Mediterranean in April 1878 at once convinced the people of India that it will be no difficult task for the English to conquer the Russians. If this had really been the case, we should have been constrained to hold that our countrymen are the stupidest people under the sun. But we entertain a widely different opinion of the people of this country. They are very shrewd observers and carefully note what is going on around them. The writer in the *Times* gives a number of extracts from the vernacular journals of Upper India beginning from April 1878 to prove the change that suddenly came over

Native public opinion on the despatch of the Indian contingent to the Mediterranean. For ourselves we have no manner of doubt that the change in the tone of the Native Press of which the writer in the *Times* makes such political capital, was brought about by the despatch of 7,000 sepoys to Malta. Before the passing of Press Act, the editors of vernacular journals freely expressed their opinion on all public questions and measures. But when Act IX of 1878 found a place in the statute book on the 14th of March, it put a stop to outspoken expression of Native public opinion in the vernacular papers. The conductors of these papers found that if they gave offence to the authorities by a free expression of opinion, they would incur the penalties prescribed in the Gagging Act. Three necessities compelled them to change their tone, and as they knew what would please their rulers, they wrote accordingly.

It cannot for a moment be supposed that any Indian of ordinary intelligence could be so thoughtless as to imagine that the presence of 7,000 sepoys in Malta to Europe would enable his English rulers to conquer the Russians. The vernacular Press of Upper India certainly hailed the measure; and there need be no difficulty in understanding why this was done. The Hindustani journals are, as a rule, conducted by Mahomedans. That the Mahomedan community in India should enthusiastically approve of a measure which indicated the probability of England fighting with Russia on behalf of Turkey, is the most natural thing in the world. But bitter was the disappointment of the Indian Mussulmans when they found that the despatch of sepoys to Malta was a piece of mere brag and bluster. The publication of the Salisbury-Schouvaloff agreement literally astounded them. They saw that England had substantially accepted the Treaty of San Stefano. They eagerly watched the result of the Berlin Congress, and observed that Russia obtained all that upon which she had set her heart in the war against Turkey. What effect the Treaty of Berlin produced upon the Mahomedans of India may be better imagined than described. The writer

in the *Times*, as might be expected, discreetly maintains silence on this vital point. If the vernacular Press had not been gagged, all the Hindustani journals of Upper India would have joined in a loud chorus in speaking of the despatch of 7,000 sepoys to India in terms which the measure deserved. They would have told us frankly that they had from the first known that England did not mean to fight with Russia, and that her policy was in reality a policy of brag and bluster. But their mouths had been muzzled and they had no alternative but to remain silent. Then it is idle to say that the popular feeling in India regards with favour the English invasion of Afghanistan. The Mahomedan chiefs of the Punjab placed their troops at the disposal of the British Government not because they approved of the Afghan war but because they thought that if they held aloof, their loyalty would be questioned and that they would incur the displeasure of the Paramount Power. Again, our countrymen have observed that though Russia, in violation of the repeated and solemn pledges she had given to the effect that Afghanistan was beyond the sphere of her political influence, sent a Mission to Cabul. England accepted their apparently transparent excuses and fell upon Shere Ali. The Natives of India are not so stupid that they cannot realise the significance of such proceedings. An Indian proverb says that no one dares approach the powerful. If Act IX of 1878 had not been passed, the vernacular journals would have freely expressed what the people think of the declaration of war against Shere Ali on the pretext of his having received the Stolietoff Mission.

12 February 1880

SOME THOUGHTS ON OUR OWN LITERATURE

No language is stationary : it shifts in correspondence to the shifting movements of civilization. Except in very rude and early periods of Society, the languages of civilized nations

acted upon by causes which allow them no respite from change. New ideas and new inventions suggest and call for new words. They often necessitate the verbal coinage of words and phrases to express the full extent of their meaning. In nations weak in the superior regions of thought, we scarcely find any individualized words. A single word often has a very signification. In many of the oriental languages for example, a single word suggests the idea of an orb, ellipse or a sphere—a simple generic outline involving specific differentiations. As new thoughts rise up and new facts come within the sphere of observation, language will be growing and advancing ; while the degradation of the savage sufficiently argues the extreme poverty of his language and the extreme depths of rudeness and ignorance to which he is fallen.

It is indeed, a very significant phrase "that man could be man only through the exercise of his faculties ;" and the more he displays these faculties—the buds and blossoms of his intellectual tree—the more elevated a place does he hold in the scale of civilization. Language, as the reflex of social, moral and political life, determines the condition of a society and of the individuals composing it. Indeed, high civilisation is indispensable for the development and perfection of language. It is unnecessary to say that Sanskrit literature holds a very conspicuous place in the history of the great classical literatures of the world. The variety of its sweet musical notes, the extensive field of luxuriant beauty which it opens to the view, the sweet pathos of delicacy which touches the feeling and moves the sympathy, have fascinated the most civilised nations of the world. Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Bhatrihori, Vyasa, Valmiki &c., have challenged the admiration of the world. In what other work can be found a more faithful and delicate portrait of love in such a pure, innocent, sylvan girl as the Sakuntala of Kalidasa ? How exquisite, and supremely touching are the passages where she is presented to us in the tumult of her hopes and fears, before she ventured into an interview with her lord ; and then the happiness of a prospective thought of meeting him for whom her heart bent

with almost feverish heat and then again the deep despair at her repulsion from her husband and of the thought of her miserable situation—that she was forsaken and abandoned to dire fate—are all brought together in such exquisite finery of language and thought as is simply unsurpassable in excellence.

Among the languages which have received a large supply of words from the Sanskrit literature, the Bengali language holds a very prominent place, as the language in which the thoughts, sentiments, and the feelings of the people of a part of Hindustan have found expression for more than twelve centuries. To fix with precision the date when the total suppression of the Sanskrit as a medium of verbal communication took place is manifestly an impossible task. It was, of course, a gradual process : the simple words of the native vernacular gradually forced their way into the classical Sanskrit and replaced the more complex words.

Many centuries have passed, since the natives of Bengal found a very simple vestment in which to clothe their sentiments and embody their thoughts. That this change was gradual and was brought about very slowly may be seen by a cursory glance into the writings of Bidyapati and Gyanadas and other old writers of Bengal. We recognise in those writings a strange admixture of very many corrupted forms of the pure Sanskrit from which the subsequent literature of our country became totally free. A comparison of their writings with those of the later writers, will help to make this point clear. It is not very difficult to infer from such facts that the dialect of our fore-fathers, has undergone great many changes and modifications, has stripped itself of a great mass of complexities, and has acquired a simplicity and an amplitude of expression. But the features which constitute its identity to the original Sanskrit, are yet very clear and marked.

From the time of Bharata Chandra to about a half of the present century, our language was in a state of hopeless disorganisation. Scarcely a single book could be found in the whole range of our literature which was worth reading.

Native genius no longer strove to display itself in the native tongue. After this calamitous period of our literature, when its vital fire seemed for ever extinguished, signs of returning life began to show themselves and lead towards a better condition. A period of torpor was followed by a period of activity. National life began to exhibit itself, a revolution followed and the result was a glorious dawn after long nights of gloomy apprehension. This revolution—the most momentous in the history of our literature—was in part effected by the humorous writings of Babu Ishar Chandra Gupta and the sublime productions of the late Michael M. S. Dutta, while it was left to Pandit Iswar Chundra Vidyasagar to mould, shape and improve the language. But the publications, which have recently exerted a powerful and most beneficial influence on the moral and intellectual development of our Society, were undoubtedly those contributed partly by Babu Bankim Chunder Chatterjee, partly by Babu Romesh Chunder Dutt, and a whole host of vernacular writers of the day. Babu Bankim Chunder's *Durgesh Nandini* was the first novel in Bengali. But unfortunately his writings are not altogether free from indecencies. Babu Romesh Chunder has steered clear of all indecencies in his novels and writings, and though second on the field, is perhaps the best taken all in all. Just as English education spread in this country, scattering the rays of western civilisation, it brought to the field of literature, men of scholarship and thought and the result is a decided improvement of our vernacular. The nineteenth century is the most important period in the history of our literature. Force and energy, sweetness and pathos are not wanting now in the writings of our authors. National life and intellectual activity are in rapid progress. A brilliant page is now opened in the history of the literature of our country.

19 February 1880

RAILWAY EXTENSIONS IN BENGAL

IN the course of his speech at the recent Trades' Dinner, Sir Ashley Eden, the reader may remember, insisted upon the importance of the opening out of Bengal. This, he declared, was "the one great means which the Government had at its disposal for really improving the condition of the people and fostering a great trade." The Lieutenant-Governor said, at the same time, that it was a mistake to think that the want of progress in this respect was in any degree attributable to a tendency on the part of the Government of India to appropriate to itself money which fairly belonged to this Province. Sir Ashley Eden has since recorded an important Resolution on Railway Extensions in Bengal. It will be in the recollection of the reader, that when Sir John Strachey brought out a revised edition of his famous Decentralization Scheme in 1877, the control of State Railways in Bengal was made over to the local Government which undertook to pay to the Government of India interest on their capital outlay, the Supreme Government agreeing to provide an annual grant for railway extensions in this Province. At the time the new arrangement was made, three short lines—the Tirhoot line, the Nalhati line and the Mutla line,—were open to traffic; while the Northern Bengal line was under construction. This latter line has since been opened to traffic as also the short line between Patna and Gya. During the working season, 1877-78, surveys were made for extensions of the Tirhoot Railway; and two projects were framed for extensions of the line from Mozufferpore to Belliat on one side and to a point 24 miles eastward from Durbhunga on the other. The estimates for both these extensions of the Tirhoot system were submitted to the Government of India for sanction in the beginning of 1879. Other railway projects have been prepared to serve the districts of Central and Eastern Bengal as well as the Assam Valley. The first of these projects contemplates the construction of a line to be called the Central Bengal Railway to serve the Nuddea, Jessoore, 24-Parganas districts. The line is

to commence from Bhugwangola on the Ganges, and it is to be taken past Moorshedabad, Berhampore, Krishnagar, Santipore to Ranaghat on the Eastern Bengal Railway, and thence *via* Bongong and Jessor to Khulna, with a connection from Bongong *via* Barasat and Dum Dum to Calcutta, and another from Santipore to Mymari on the East Indian Railway. The length of this system will be 241 miles, and its estimated cost is $2\frac{1}{4}$ crores of Rupees. The second project is for a short line, from Sonarpur on the Mutla line to Diamond Harbour, 29 miles long, estimated to cost 22 lakhs of Rupees. The estimate for this line has already been submitted for the sanctions of the Government of India. The third project is intended to serve the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh. The length of the line from Dacca to Mymensingh including a branch to Naraingunge will be 128 miles and the estimated cost is for a broad gauge line a crore and a quarter of Rupees. This line would practically be an extension of the Eastern Bengal Railway. The fourth project contemplates the extension of the Rungpore branch of the Northern Bengal Railway to Dhubri on the Brahmaputra to serve the trade of the Assam Valley. Although the length of line required is only 54 miles, the estimate amounts to one crore and a quarter of Rupees. The cost of construction will be so very heavy, because the line crosses four very large rivers. The Resolution of the Bengal Government under notice says :—

“Besides these lines, for which surveys have already been made, there is another very important Railway required, starting either from Calcutta through Midnapore, or from Burdwan or Ranigunge through Bankura to Chybassa, and thence to Chittisgurh, joining the line under construction to Nagpore in the Central Provinces, with a junction line from Chybassa *via* Ranchi or Dorunda and the Karanpura coal-fields to Chutra and Gya.

“This system would be the direct route from Calcutta to Bombay. It would pass through a country rich in mineral wealth and containing some of the finest wealth-producing land in India, though at present only sparsely populated, but

the Railway giving easy means of access, it would soon attract, under fair terms, some of the redundant population of the Bengal districts."

This last mentioned line cannot by any means be treated as a Bengal Provincial Railway. A railway from Nagpore to Calcutta is important and urgently required to complete the arterial system. The line between Nagpore and Chittisgurh has been already commenced as a Provincial undertaking ; and if it should be taken on to Calcutta, the distance between the Metropolis and Bombay, as Sir Andrew Clarke has pointed out in his famous Railway minute, will be reduced by 270 miles. But the whole line will cost about $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores of Rupees—a sum utterly beyond Provincial resources.

It will be seen that Sir Ashley Eden's scheme for Railway extensions in Bengal is grand and comprehensive ; but the question arises will all the projected lines prove successful in a financial point of view ? The Lieutenant-Governor seems to be very sanguine as to the success of all the projects discussed in the Resolution under notice. He complacently speaks of the favourable results already achieved by the Patna-Gya Railway :—

"This line, 57 miles in length was, for the convenience of the public, opened for traffic in June 1879, though in a very unfinished state, and some idea of its financial prospects can be gathered from the fact that, by the end of December, 267, 119 passengers and 567, 288 maunds of goods had been carried over it, the earnings having amounted to Rs. 2,30,278, sufficient, after paying working expenses, to pay at the rate of six per cent. per annum on the capital outlay, and this for the first half year after opening."

But it must not be forgotten that the success of the Patna-Gya line, like that of the Muttra-Hattras Railway in the North-Western Provinces, is due to exceptional favourable circumstances. Gya and Muttra are places of pilgrimage to which thousands of Hindus annually resort. We must be careful not to judge of the prospects of all Provincial lines by the standard of these two exceptionally situated lines. In

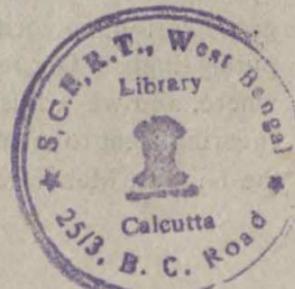
discussing the merits of the first of the four projects summarised above, Sir Ashley Eden insists upon the very great importance of establishing a connection between the Eastern Bengal Railway and the East Indian Railway. He remarks :—

"At present there is no connection between the East Indian Railway and the Eastern Bengal Railway ; all traffic, therefore, proceeding from the eastern districts to the western and northern parts of India, or *vice versa*, has to be taken to Calcutta, and there transshipped ; further a connection between these Railways will effect a saving of no less than Re. 1-8 per ton on all the local...required for working all the Railways in the East and North Bengal."

This is perfectly true ; but then to connect the East Indian Railway with the Eastern Bengal Railway by a short line from Ranaghat to Mymari and to construct a system, 241 miles in length at a cost of $2\frac{1}{4}$ crores of Rupees, are two widely different things. We doubt whether the proposed Central Bengal Railway taken as a whole will pay. Then, we are afraid the projected line from Sonarpore to Diamond Harbour will be much in the same position as the Mutla Railway. When this latter line was constructed, high hopes were entertained of its success, and it was represented that the line would be of immense convenience to the shipping of the port of Calcutta. But time has shown that the construction of a costly broad gauge Railway between Calcutta and Mutla has been a blunder ; and we hope such a blunder will not be repeated in the case of a line from Sonarpore to Diamond Harbour. We are inclined to think that a metre or narrow gauge line between these places is much more likely to pay than a broad gauge one. The third project which "would serve the important city of Dacca, with its port at Naraingunge and district of Mymensingh, at present for a great part of the year cut off from communication," and which "would so assist the trade of Sylhet and Cachar materially," is most hopeful. We need not discuss the merits of the fourth project which, as Sir Ashely Eden justly remarks, cannot be treated as a Bengal Provincial Railway, as it would mainly serve the interests of Assam. The

proposed extensions of the Tirhoot Railway, both east-ward and west-ward, for which estimates were submitted to the Government of India more than a year ago, should be carried out as soon as possible, more especially as the Maharaja of Durbhangha has come forward to subscribe two-thirds of the capital required for the extension from Durbhangha east-ward. The Government cannot be too careful in the matter of railway extensions. The financial results of railways in India have, doubtless, been more satisfactory than those of irrigation works ; but then we must bear in mind the stubborn facts recorded in the report of the Select Committee on Indian Public Works. These facts are that...the railways will prove directly remunerative has not been realised ; that in no single year except the famine year 1877-78 has the return on the aggregate expenditure on railways been sufficient to meet the interest on the capital expended ; that the entire loss on the guaranteed railways amounted upto 1877-78 to no less a sum than £ 22,437,307 ; that between 1877-78 and 1878-79 there has been a serious falling off in the returns from those railways ; that though the net receipts from the State Railways have increased, these lines do not as yet yield returns sufficient to pay one-third of the interest on their capital outlay. Before expending more money on railways, the Government should carefully weigh what the Select Committee on Indian Public Works has so forcibly pointed out, *viz.*, that "as railways have now been constructed along the most important lines of communication, the returns which are yielded on the money expended on railways in the past ought not to be regarded as affording any evidence that similar returns will be obtained from capital which may be expended in the future."

26 February 1880



PUBLIC RECEPTION TO MR. LAL MOHON GHOSE

THE Town Hall of Calcutta represented a somewhat unusual scene on the night of Thursday last. Although the hour fixed was somewhat late for our countrymen, there were upwards of a thousand people to give a cordial welcome to Mr. Ghose. We have every reason to believe that if 3 p. m. on Saturday or 5 p. m., on any other day were fixed, instead of 8 p. m., the Town Hall would have been crowded to suffocation—a scene which was certainly worth seeing. We may as well here correct one error into which we fell in our last in stating that 8 p. m. was appointed at Mr. Lal Mohon Ghose's own request. We are told that it was not so, and that in fact, he himself had no voice in the matter. We have felt ourselves bound to make this correction in justice to Mr. Ghose, for we have come to know that many of our educated countrymen did not attend the meeting on an erroneous impression that Mr. Ghose by fixing 8 p. m., intended more to address the *Saheb Logues* than his own countrymen, which undoubtedly, if true, would have been an insult to the latter. But those who know Mr. L. Ghose intimately know also that he was simply incapable of meaning such thing, and we would, indeed, be very sorry if our incorrect remarks in the last issue, tended towards confirming that impression. We regret very much that, for some reason or other, the convenience of our countrymen was not very much cared for. However, what's done, is done. Inspite of the inconvenient hour, we were glad to find so many of our countrymen present to do honor to one who richly deserves it. It has seldom been our lot to listen to such a splendid piece of oration, dressed, in pure idiomatic English, and delivered with an eloquence which has not yet been surpassed by any of our countrymen. There was no declamation, no gesticulation, no vociferation, but the manner cf delivery was purely English. Our readers will find this excellent speech elsewhere, and we will leave it to speak for itself. It was indeed a cheering sight to see the patrician and the plebeian of the land, the Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, Moharattas, Armenians and

Englishmen meeting together on a common platform to hear the glad tidings which Mr. Ghose had brought from England. Dr. K.M. Bannejee being voted to the chair, explained the object of the meeting and briefly recounted the nature of the services Mr. Ghose has been able to render to his country by his brief stay in England. He remarked that Mr. Ghose was the first delegate which the nation has sent to England, and the future generation will always look upon this fact with pride. Rajah Shama Sankar Roy then removed the following resolution :—“That the best thanks of this meeting be accorded to Lal Mohon Ghose, for the ability, energy and judgement with which he has conducted the very difficult and important work entrusted to him by the Indian Association, to lay before the British public the views of the Indian people in relation to the various questions of Indian administration.”

Babu Jadu Lal Mullick warmly seconded this resolution in a brief speech. He thought that, but for the lateness of the hour, the Town Hall would have been full. He recapitulated some of the services done by Mr. Ghose in England, and thought our countrymen should be proud of him. Mr. Ghose, observed he, did not, while in England advocate the claims or interests of any party or class, but addressed himself to questions which effected the country as a whole. Babu Kally Charan Banerjee in supporting the resolution, said that when his countrymen thought of sending a delegate to England, they could not even in their fondest dreams think of a man who could do justice to their cause. Mr. Ghose had been sent and had fully answered their hopes and expectations. He remarked that knowledge is a condition precedent to feeling, and in order that Englishmen might be induced to feel an interest in India, it was essential that they should know more of India. The resolution was carried with acclamation. The Chairman then presented the address to Mr. Ghose, and amidst deafening applause, he rose to address the meeting. For Mr. Ghose's speech, we must refer our readers to another column.

UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

THE annual Convocation of the University of Calcutta, for conferring degrees, was held on Saturday last in the Senate House, College Square, and Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, K.C.S.I., Vice-Chancellor, presided on the occasion. One new feature, we are glad to say, was the presence of a few native ladies. The speech of the Vice-Chancellor, which we were told would be the last as such, was tolerably good. Sir Alexander is not a brilliant man, but he is a man of good common sense and of mediocre abilities. No new educational policy is declared by him, and there is nothing very much to interest the country at large. The annual speech of the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University is looked for with great anxiety by the friends of education in India, and we shall therefore place the salient points of the speech before our readers. The Vice-Chancellor commenced with a short statement of the last examinations, from which it appears that :—“The University has admitted on its rolls 1,029 fresh undergraduates. 320 University students have passed the First Examination in Arts, 112 have obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and 32 of Master of Arts; 47 the degree of Bachelor of Laws, one student has obtained Honors in Law, one student has obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine, and 90 students have passed lower examinations in the faculty of medicine. For the examinations in Civil Engineering, at which 26 candidates appeared, all failed. The entire number of persons who have thus come under the influence of the University examinations during the past year has been 4,398, of whom 1,632 students have passed successful Examinations.” He next alluded to certain desirable reforms in the following terms :—“When I addressed you last year, I alluded to certain alterations in the rules for the First Examination in Arts, and for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, which had for some time been under consideration, and which have for their object to render the scheme of studies less discursive, to narrow its range, while increasing its depth

—in fact to adopt the principle of a bifurcation of studies which has long been in force in the leading Universities in England. The principle of these proposals, which originated with our lamented colleague, the late Mr. Woodrow, but which since his death have been further elaborated, was accepted by the Faculty of Arts so far back as the 15th November 1877 ; but owing to difference of opinion, in regard to matters of detail, has not yet been embodied in the regulations of the University. I trust that in the course of the present year, the Faculty of Arts will be able to agree upon some practical mode of giving effect to this important principle, under which the graduates of this University will be encouraged to devote themselves to the special study of those branches of learning for which they have most aptitude—a principle which has worked so well elsewhere. Another suggestion which has been made for improving examinations for degree in Arts—and the suggestion would apply to the First Examination of Arts also—is that these examinations, which are at the present merely pass examinations, at which all the candidates are given the same papers, should be so arranged as to admit of students taking honors at them. This might be done by having separate sets of papers for students who are candidates only for a pass, and separate sets for students desiring to obtain honors. The arrangement would not have the effect of lowering the standard, which all students must now pass ; but it would offer to exceptionally clever or industrious students greater opportunities of distinguishing themselves than at present exist, especially in the case of poor students who cannot afford to go through the five years course, which under the existing regulations is necessary to obtain honors. It would be also, perhaps, a somewhat more fair system than that now in force, as regards students of mediocre talents, inasmuch as the pass papers would contain no question involving a standard higher than was requisite for passing, while under the present system an examiner is often tempted to set questions which will be adapted to bring out the ability of the more advanced candidates, in doing which he runs the risk of plucking students of moderate

though respectable attainments. The suggestion is one which perhaps might be considered in connection with the other question of the bifurcation of studies."

With regard to the B. A. degree, Sir Alexander Arbuthnot remarked—"At present this degree has an undue prestige attached to it in some quarters and is unduly depreciated in others. As a mere pass degree, it may be said to be quite on a level with the pass degree given annually at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The standard indeed which is attained by the students who pass in the 1st Division, and perhaps also in the 2nd Division, is decidedly higher than that of an Oxford or Cambridge Pass ; but inasmuch as every B. A. graduate of the Calcutta University is a B. A., and nothing more, there being no honors connected with this degree, while in the eyes of the Native community, owing to the comparative novelty of University degrees in this country, a somewhat inordinate value is attached to the degree, it has come to be looked upon by any Englishmen in India, who have been brought into contact with graduates of an inferior type, and who do not always make allowance for the difficulties of an education obtained mainly through the medium of a foreign language, as somewhat of a delusion and a shame. It is very desirable that such misconceptions as these should be prevented, and that in India, as in England, an ordinary degree should be understood to represent the acquirement by the holder of that moderate amount of knowledge and mental training which every man of ordinary education ought to possess ; while the attainment of a higher standard is only to be expected from those who obtain their degrees with honors. When this state of things shall have been brought about, the real work of the University will be more justly appreciated. The mysterious halo which now often very absurdly surrounds the holder of a very ordinary degree will be dispelled and the real value of the education represented by the degrees of the higher class of graduates will be better understood. The gain to education and to the estimation in which it is held will, I venture to think, be

considerable." He then referred to the new rules for the admission of natives into the higher offices of the State but carefully abstained from hazarding any opinion on their value. The establishment of a University at Lahore and the abolition of all restriction as to age for candidates going up for the Entrance Examination, were briefly alluded to with several other matters of not much importance. The Vice-Chancellor concluded his speech in the following strain :—
"My conviction is, that the more thorough and the more complete the education is which we impart to the people of India, the better fitted they will be to appreciate the blessing of British rule, and the more they will deprecate any material change in the existing order of things. (Cheers.) The British Government in India need not fear the light. It need not dread fair and legitimate criticism. But the charge of disaffection towards Government to which I have alluded, emanating as it sometimes does from men in high and responsible positions, is not a charge which ought to be entirely ignored. Unjust and unfounded as it may be—and as I for one believe it to be,—it is a charge which ought to be borne in mind by those who have a real interest in a Native progress, by those who feel, as I and my colleagues in this Senate feel, that the happiness and prosperity, and I will add the good Government, of this country, the purity and efficiency of the administration, both judicial and executive, are closely connected with the character of the education imparted in our colleges and schools, and the knowledge that such charges are made ought to lead all who have an influence in determining the character of the instruction which is tested by this University, to make it as sound and as deep and as practical as they can, and to do what in them lies to check any superficial semblance of learning which may bring our educational system into disrepute. Gentlemen, I bid you farewell. May God prosper you and bless your work. (Loud cheers.)" The Government of the country would do well to bear in mind the words we have italicised for they are words of wisdom and truth.

EDUCATION

IN THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES, OUDH

THE report on public instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the official year 1878-79 shows a falling off in the number of pupils attending schools in Sir George Couper's satrapy....The unfavourable circumstances of the year, educationally considered, have been very clearly put by the Director of Public Instruction of Schools do not entirely depend on the ability and diligence of educational officers, or the care and activity of educational committees. Attendance and progress are immediately affected by the character of the year as regards the health and general well-being of the people. In both these points the past year was unfavourable to the advance spread of Public instruction. Famine and fever in some districts, and scarcity and reduced prices in all, have reduced attendance and retarded progress in all classes of our schools. Children's aid in out-of-door labour could not be dispensed with ; schooling fees and books could not be provided when food could scarcely be obtained ; moreover, many educational officers, from headmasters of high schools and Deputy inspectors down to Hulkabandi school teachers, were for some months engaged on famine relief work. Schools were closed or worked at half power ; and of those that were kept open, many were of necessity left uninspected. Under these circumstances a decrease in the total number of pupils under instruction can only be expected and regretted. We might quote the Lieutenant-Governor, in reviewing the Director's report, remark :— "This decrease is not to be wondered at : indeed, His Honor is surprised that it was not greater."

The decrease in the number of pupils attending the English Arts College is a matter for deep regret. The N.W. Provinces, as Mr. Griffith distinctly admitted in this report for 1877-78, are far behind Bengal in all that appertains to higher education. Such being the case, a falling off in the number of pupils receiving higher education can not be

lightly passed over. In the North-Western Provinces there are four Government Arts Colleges—the English Colleges of Agra, Allahabad, Benares, and the Benares Sanskrit College. Besides these State institutions, the Mahamedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, St. John's College, Agra, and the London Mission School at Benares, have also College classes, although they are aided by the Government only as high schools. In Oudh, University education is supplied by the aided Canning College and La Martiniere at Lucknow. In the F. A. Examination of 1878 there were many failures; and to this circumstance is attributed, the decrease in the number of students in the Government English colleges, which fell from 187 to 172. In the said Examination, from Agra College passed 1 student out of 5; Allahabad, 6 out of 23; Canning College, 13 out of 21, with 4 in the 1st Division; St. John's College, Agra passed one student, and the London Mission High School, 3 students. Mr. Griffith would have the public believe that no blame attaches to the education Department for the large number of failures in the F. A. Examination in the North-Western Provinces; for, he states that the failure in the Examination was general. Sir George Couper, however, does not unhesitatingly accept the Director's inference. He very properly requests Mr. Griffith to ascertain the corresponding results in Bengal, and report how the facts in this Province bear out of the Director's suggestion. The results of the other examinations were as follows:—"Five students went up for the M. A. degree, of whom four from the Muir College obtained Honors, and the fifth from Canning College passed. For the B. A. Agra passed three out of four, Allahabad six out of twelve, Benares five out of eleven, and Canning College four out of eight. It is, however, worthy of note that one of the Canning College students stood at the head of the list; and that one of the North-Western Provinces candidates (except one from Agra who was placed in the second division) passed higher than the third class." Mr. Griffith observes that the "decrease...is serious, and it raises considerably the annual cost—high enough before—of each stu-

dent's education." The Director further remarks that "the education given in our English arts colleges is still undervalued and uncared for by the wealthier classes, for whose benefit mainly it was intended. By poorer students it is valued as a means of future livelihood ; but if they fail to obtain scholarships they are compelled to discontinue their studies and prematurely accept such employment as they can find." Mr. Griffith, we are sorry to see, discusses at length the question as to why high education is not valued and cared for by the better classes in the North-Western Provinces. The subject is so important that it requires a separate article to itself.

The so-called high schools in the North-Western Provinces teach up to the Calcutta Entrance Examination. Those schools were highly successful in the year under report, having passed 89 against 69 in the previous year. Aided schools passed 42 against 44, unaided schools eight against seven in 1877. The Middle schools teach up to the Middle class Anglo-Vernacular examination, and their results, judged by their success in that examination were extremely unsatisfactory. It is however, explained that the mathematical paper in the examination was too difficult. Out of 861 candidates, only 105 boys passed. The Middle Vernacular schools suffered severely from the famine of 1877-78. 408 schools sent up 1,098 candidates, of whom 230 passed. The schools which succeeded best are those in the Agra Division. Not much information is given in the Director's report about primary schools ; and little is said about girls' schools. Female education appears to be in a very unsatisfactory state in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. In the year under report, there were 64 Government schools with 1,497 girls attending them, against 55 schools with 1,609 girls in the previous year. The Director thus writes :—"The diminution in the number of pupils is in great part nominal only, and results from striking off from the registers the names of girls who either not attended at all, or only attended for show, with a bit of chalk and takhti, on the occasions when Deputy Inspectors visited the schools. The aided and unaided schools remain the same as last year,

but there has been a slight diminution of pupils in them also, probably of the like nominal character. The average daily attendance, as registered in both the Government and the aided schools, is lower than it was last year, but figures taken from the registers of girls' schools are not entitled to very much credence. The cost to Government per school is Rs. 112 $\frac{1}{2}$, and per pupil is Rs. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ for the Government schools. The corresponding items for the aided schools is Rs. 143 $\frac{1}{2}$ and Rs. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. The great majority of the girls who attend these schools, whether Government, aided, or unaided, acquire only the mere rudiments of learning, and are as absolutely ignorant a few months after they have left school as if they had never been to school at all. About one-half of the girls never advance beyond reading and copying easy words and writing numbers up to 100. One-third gets as far as reading in a fashion, easy sentences and copying the same, and perhaps many learn to add and subtract numbers of four digits. About one-fourth of the girls go as far as reading through a dozen pages of a very simple book, and writing to dictation, mostly with many mis-spellings, a line or two of the lesson read, to which they may add a little power to multiply and divide in simple arithmetic. It is only a very select few who ever get to reading and writing with an approach to fluency, and to working in the compound rules. The number who can read and write to dictation a passage unseen before, is very small. I did not find any such girl in the Malihabad School or in the 10 schools which I visited in Sitapur, Hardoi and Bara Banki, the best girls' school, as I am given to understand, in the Province, with the exception of some half-dozen Government, and aided, schools which lie within the city of Lucknow. Nothing could be more lamentable than the present state of female education in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. The most successful girls' schools seem to be the aided Mission Schools which produce far better results." Well might Sir George Couper say :— "These are the schools to be encouraged. They are genuine and do good." Mr. Griffith deals with the education of poor

Europeans and Eurasians. It is pointed out that a few Eurasian students attend the Muri Central College, and as their parents believe that Latin is necessary to the education of their children, their admission is a source of trouble. Mr. Morrison, the Principal of the College, suggests that it is worthy of consideration whether the study of Persian which will be more profitable to them, should not be encouraged in their primary schools. The great mistake which the Government has, in our thinking, been making in the matter of Eurasians, is to encourage the false race-pride of the Eurasians. They should be made to understand clearly that India is their home and that they are natives of the country quite as much as Hindus, Mahomedans and Native Christians. The North-West Director states that gratuitous elementary instruction has been offered to "poor whites" and Eurasians in Meerut, Agra, Cawnpore, Allahabad, and Benares. "But", says Mr. Griffith, "parents are apathetic and children are idle, and no progress has been made during the past year as far as members are concerned." He proceeds :—"The children who do attend to school, receive sound elementary instruction, which will be of service to them when they go out into the world ; but, unless attendance be made compulsory, few will avail themselves of the advantages offered them. Exclusive of some 27 children at Meerut, instructed at various schools, whose fees were during the past year paid out of a fund received by Private subscription; and of about 100 children who attend the free school at Allahabad, which receives a grant from the Government, only 44 poor children were educated by the Government at a cost of Rs. 1,162." It will thus be seen that in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh the educational requirements of the poorer classes of Europeans and Eurasians are not neglected by Government. Yet Archdeacon Baly would have many more schools for these classes in Sir George Couper's satrapy, as also in the other provinces. The most difficult problem connected with the education of European and Eurasian children, rightly holds Mr. Griffith, is their employment in after-life. The

reader knows that this question is now under the consideration of Government. The friends of the European and Eurasian have no right to complain when it is seen that at all the large centres of population in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, gratuitous elementary education is afforded to all who choose to avail themselves of it.

18 March 1880

THE SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

THE Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science has been in existence for sometime, but it seems to have attracted the notice of very few of our countrymen. We do not pretend to have made Science the subject of special study, but yet venture to think, that any institution having for its object cultivation of science, is calculated to mark an epoch in the history of India. Dr. Mohendra Lall Sircar, the projector and founder of this institution, will always deserve a prominent place in the history of this country. He is a man who does not much care for anything except the approbation of his own conscience. He is not a popularity-hunter or an aspirant for name. He does not parade his achievements in the department of Science in the news-papers or by public speeches, but he is quietly and unostentatiously laying the foundation for the future greatness of his mother-country. Those who know him personally, know it for a fact, that a great patriotic heart beats within his bosom, and the fact that he "has sacrificed his worldly prospects for this Association and has reduced himself to poverty for its sake," according to the testimony of such a high authority as Father Lafont, is quite sufficient to prove that he is one of India's greatest benefactors; and we are agreed with Father Lafont in thinking that he "deserves our utmost gratitude for having done so." The best and the most practical way of evincing our gratitude to Dr. Sircar, is by encouraging him in his lectures by larger and regular

attendance. We quite feel with that great scientific scholar, Father Lafont, that "it is not by tens and twenties that they (the audience) ought to be counted at lectures like this, but by hundreds, in a metropolis so largely populated as Calcutta." We are glad Lord Lytton graced the rooms of the Association by his presence on the evening on Thursday last, when Dr. Sircar read a paper on the "Ultragaseous State of Matter". It is also worthy of note that the announcement of the Viceroy's presence at the meeting drew to it several gentlemen who seldom honored the meeting with their presence on former occasions. We allude to this fact in order to show, how much the well-being of such institutions in this country depends upon the encouragement given to it by presence or otherwise, of persons in authority in this land. While on the one hand, this fact shows that we have not yet grown quite independent of the smiles and frowns of the high officials, on the other hand it points to the responsibility which those persons incur in accepting high positions in India. We may here allude to another fact in corroboration of this. While Dr. Sircar, who tried to be independent of all officials in a matter like this, has not yet been able to raise a lac of rupees for the support of this most useful institution, the Indian League, with the patronage of Sir Richard Temple, succeeded in raising a very large amount for the projected College of Technical Science, within a comparatively shorter period. We also know that one gentleman contributed about Rs. 40,000 or 45,000 which, when the League became defunct, was refunded to him. This was simply because the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal smiled upon that particular association. We may give another illustration. When the Hindu Mohila Vidyaloya was started under the patronage of the then Justice Mr. and Mrs. Phear, several persons of rank and position liberally contributed to its funds by subscriptions and donations, simply because a Judge of the High Court had patronised it; but when Mr. and Mrs. Phear left for England, the school died a natural death, and when certain native gentlemen of high education and character, in trying to resuscitate the school,

appealed to those very persons for continuing their subscriptions, they received a cool response. Such is the character of our countrymen, and every well-wisher of India ought to ponder over such state of things. It is a deplorable state of affairs. In the matter of Dr. Sircar's disintersted endeavours to make the Institution for the Cultivation of Science a permanent Institution of the land, we find the very same thing. The presence of Lord Lytton was a "most gracious act", and the kind words which His Excellency spoke on the occasion of his visit, ought to electrify our countrymen. His Excellency thus placed the cause of Science of India :—

"And let me beg you to remember that the cause of Science here in India, is really of all causes the most deserving, the most beneficent, and the most charitable. I will not venture to speak in the presence of two such enlightened and accomplished representatives of science, of its moral and intellectual benefits, but looking at it only from the most obvious and superficial point of view, let me ask you to remember that it is science which has already given to our Empire the railway, the steam boat, and the telegraph. It is science which has given to our populations wholesome, well-drained, well-lighted cities ; to our soldier well-ventilated barracks. It is science to which many of us owe the purity of the water we drink, and the purity of the air we breathe. It is science which has already offered to all, who will take it, effectual means of escape from that terrible scourge of small-pox, and it is to science that we still look for our eventual redemption from the yet recurrent ravages of cholera and famine. (Cheers.)"

With reference to this particular institution,—the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science—His Excellency observed :—

"For this institution, ladies and gentlemen, is not an institution founded by English educationalists, nor is it in any wise dependent exclusively upon European patronage. It is a genuinely native institution, which originated in the wise and patriotic conception of a native gentleman who is himself a genuine man of science (loud cheers). It is not

dependent for support on Government aid, and I do not regret what our friend has told us this evening, that up to the present moment it has been self-supporting (cheers), at least it has depended for its support solely on the enlightenment and spirit of those native gentlemen whose liberality is the source of its beneficence (cheers). Well then, of those who have thus far supported this institution, I say that theirs, and theirs exclusively, is the honor due to the rapid growth and achievement of this most promising offspring to their individual wisdom and social activity (hear hear). They it is who are the parents of the future conquerors and greatest benefactors of India. It is they who here, in this province of Bengal, have enlisted and are enlisting, native thought, native research, native industry and hope, and above all, native knowledge in the ranks of that band—the little band it may be now, but which is destined, I trust year by year, more and more, further and further, to carry throughout the length and breadth of India the ever-widening light to the great practical truths which belong to Science (loud cheers).”

We hope these words will sink like molten lead into our hearts, and that we shall be in a position to point out—“here is an institution which has grown independent of Government patronage”—the monument of our own exertions and longings for the cultivation of Science.

25 March 1880

THE INFLUENCE OF THE COURTS OF JUSTICE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU SOCIETY

At an ordinary meeting of the Bengal Social Science Association held on Friday, the 27th February last, Mr. Henry Bell read a paper on the above subject. The subject is one of very great importance, and we are glad Mr. Bell spared no pains to render the paper interesting. Although we cannot concur with the lecture in his views of joint Hindu families,

we must say that the lecture shows a research and thoughtfulness which does him great honor and credit. Mr. Bell commenced his paper with a discussion of the past and present state of Hindu society, and clearly pointed out the difference between the European and Indian forms of civilisation. He said :—“No one, I think, can be blind to the fact that Hindu society is at present in a state of transition. Wherever we look, we find that men are leaving the landmarks of the past, and are drifting to an unknown future. After the lethargy of ages, Hindu society seems all at once to have burst into a state of restless and active development. To us of the western world, change is almost a necessity of our nature. With us, it is impossible to rest. To stand still is to fall behind in the race of life. To struggle and get on is the maxim we imbibe in our earliest youth. We are not satisfied to be as our fathers—we must outshine and eclipse them. Our civilization is essentially a civilization of change and progress. But the civilization with which we are brought into contact in this country is, in all respects, different from ours. The one is the very antithesis of the other. We measure our civilization by years, you measure yours by centuries. While we, a later offshoot of the great Aryan family, had not yet emerged from the hills and rivers, the common cradle of our race, you had attained a high degree of advancement and had created a literature, which is the admiration of the world. The defect in your civilization was that it was ... altogether one-sided. Excluded from the outside world by almost impassable mountains, Hindu society and Hind civilization settled down into a monotonous uniformity, where each man's place was assigned him, and where little was left to individual exertion. It was a civilization of castes and classes, not of individuals. Each man's place in the social scale was fixed and stereotyped. The Brahmins enjoyed the monopoly of knowledge, the Khatriyas of administration, the Vaisyas of trade, the Sudras of servitude. No one struggled to better his circumstances, no one aspired to rise to a higher position than his father. In such a society, undisturbed by foreign elements, every thing

tended to fixity, and in the nineteenth century after Christ, we have the astounding fact that this society is still governed by laws and usages, which had been committed to writing 3,000 years ago." There is no doubt that the Hindu society is "at present in a state of transition." Old and time-honored prejudices are crumbling into pieces, the light of western education is dispersing the thick mists of superstition, and western civilization is gradually changing the habits and manners of the people. The curtain of ignorance and gloom is being gradually lifted, and an extensive view of the happy state of other countries and nations basking in the sunshine of a purer and loftier civilization is being disclosed to the eyes for centuries closed. The Hindu society is passing through a mighty revolution. The problem is whether our Courts of Justice should aid those who are struggling to throw off the corruption of ages to accept a better state of things, or whether they should be strictly guided by the letter of the old archaic Hindu law and obstruct the growth of a healthier and more refined social organisation. The joint Hindu family system has its advantages and disadvantages too. In our opinion, the disadvantages far outweigh the advantages, and on the whole we should like the system to be blotted out of our society. No doubt in certain cases, it has saved Government from the "necessity of a poor law", but there can be little doubt that its tendency is to demoralise the society. This is manifest no less from the records of our Courts of Justice than from the utter apathy of members of a joint Hindu family to earn their livelihood independently and to try to carve out an independent career for themselves. If one member earns and toils, the other members sit idly to live on the hard-earned means of living of that member. Whatever tempting appearance a joint Hindu family presents to an outsider and a foreigner, those who have been brought and bred up in such a family known for a fact there is hardly any peace in such a family. There is nothing strange in such a state of affairs. It is impossible that there should be peace in a family which consists, to.

say the least, of leave members whose interests, hopes and aspiration, inclinations and bent of mind are as wide and divergent as the poles asunder. The consequence is that all affectionate and holier feelings receive a shock, and the ties which bind brothers, fathers and sons, uncles and nephews, brothers and sisters together, are soon broken, and instead of friends, they become deadly enemies to one another. We do not say there are no exceptions, but those exceptions prove the rule. The records of our Courts of Justice reveal a frightful state of things between even a father and a son, not two brothers or between uncles and nephews. A whole host of relations quite capable of earning their livelihood independently, hang unnecessarily on an earning member of joint Hindu family. They consider it to be a birth-right to be fed and clothed at the expense of that member. In but very few joint Hindu families, all the members exert themselves to earn their livelihood. In recommendation of such a system, which to us is positively vicious, it is frequently said that but for such a system, we would have seen our nearest and dearest relations, in very humble positions in life and probably begging from door to door, while we would be rolling in wealth and occupying prominent positions in society. But a little careful consideration of the subject will show that a great fallacy lurks in this argument. No doubt it is very distressing to find ones own kith and kin serving in the humble ranks of life, and struggling hard for an existence when he is in the upper ranks and eating his bread of luxury, but there is nothing to prevent one, if he is willing to assist his poorer relations, although he may be living separately, if he is really in a position to do so. We think he can do so more effectually, in a better spirit, and more heartily, if his mind has not been poisoned by the slow current of bitter feelings and petty jealousies which runs through the very heart of a joint Hindu family. We do not say in adopting a western civilization, we should imitate its vices, among which, it is said, there is one of utterly disregarding the feelings and want of dearest and nearest relations, but

which we do not admit for want of sufficient data to establish a wholesale accusation of that nature. We may retain all the sweet affections, all the holier and purer family ties, without living in a joint Hindu family. Mr. Bell does not advocate retention of this system, but thinks, the change should be gradual and brought about by the people themselves, and not by our Courts of Justice. He says :—“No doubt, individual ownership and individual responsibility is in many respects better than joint ownership and corporate responsibility, but if it is desirable, as it may be desirable, that the one should be substituted for the other, such substitution should be effected, not by the spasmodic action of the Courts, but by the deliberate choice of Hindu community themselves. No doubt, the tendency of the present age is to individualism in property as in every thing else ; and Hindu society, like every other society, must follow its natural development. What I am anxious for is, that this development should be gradual, and should take place in a manner which will produce as little hardship as possible to individuals. In an agricultural society there is at any rate this advantage in the joint family system that it maintains the young, the aged, and the infirm, and saves us from the necessity of a poor law. The system, no doubt, is ill-adapted to men who have left the paternal abode, and have embarked in professional and other pursuits to carve their way to fame and fortune. But whether the system is good or bad, it is a system under which Hindu society had existed for ages ; and if the system is to be changed, it should be changed by the Hindus themselves, and not by the spasmodic action of the Courts.” We think one of the greatest blessings, which our Courts of Justice can confer on the people, is the gradual annihilation of the joint family system by helping those who cannot help themselves in such a matter as this. If the people are left to themselves, they will not be in a position to throw off the incrustations of ages and centuries to which custom, habits, and national prejudices have lent their sanction.

SOME THOUGHTS ON OUR LANGUAGE DURING THE MAHOMEDAN CONQUESTS

No military preparations were made by the Sen Kings of Bengal to oppose the Mahomedan conquerors who poured forth their troops on the fields of Hindusthan. They were absorbed in the all-absorbing interests of their own literature. Even when the native Kings of Rajputana were making vigorous efforts to stem the tide of Mahomedan victory, when Mahomed of Ghazni wielded his powerful sword to break down the images of the Hindu gods in the upper provinces, our Sen Kings were engaged in drinking intoxicating draughts of pleasure from the fountains of literature, and in listening with rapture to the sweet musical notes of the immortal *Joydeva*. The Mlechhas were in possession of the frontier, they were pouring down into the interior, but our Sen Kings, in a retired nook of their magnificent place, found their hearts dancing with joy to the wild rapturous strain of that felicitous writer. Their hearts were so absorbed that they did not respond to the war cries which rang through the whole of Hindusthan.

Reports of the unbounded wealth and magnificence of India had induced foreign invaders to attempt her conquest; but none had hitherto thought of carrying their arms beyond the Sutledge. The reigning kings believed that the Mahomedans following in the wake of the conquerors who had gone before them, would content themselves with whatever success their arms might meet with in the frontier territories. It was to this confidence in the past, that the perfect composure which the rulers of Bengal maintained during this period of violent tribulation might be attributed.

The close of Lakshman Sen's reign saw the decline of the Sanskrit Literature, and as the curtain dropped, never to rise again, over the last scene of the Hindu kingdom in the reign of Ashoka Sen or Shushen, the favours of Lakshmi and Sharasvati, sister goddesses, who are supposed to preside over wealth and learning were withdrawn from the hitherto lucky

land of Bengal. The calamities of the revolution were aggravated by fire, and those works which had cost years of patient and diligent industry to the pundits, who flourished in the reigns of Bhoja Raja and Lakshman Sen, perished in the flames. The few that escaped, perhaps on account of the vast popularity and circulation they had obtained, are but an infinitesimal fraction of those that perished. Those works of ancient Arts and Literature, the fruits of centuries perished in those devastating flames.

The Mahomedans over-ran Bengal, but she preserved her language and religion intact. In one tremendous blow, freedom was lost to her, and not a finger was raised to preserve it. But the language of the dominant race, though it was soon adopted in Delhi and the countries which occupied the immediate neighbourhood of the chief central seats of Mahomedan rule, could not maintain its ground in the lower provinces. In Bengal, the suppression of the Sanskrit as a medium of verbal communication, led to the moulding and formation of the less complex tongue in which we now breathe our sentiments. Writers appeared on the field. The rich stream of music which flowed from Bidyapati's lyre, began to charm hearers as it tuned to the sweet murmurs of the running Ajaya.

The Afghans and Pathans who established the Mahomedan Rule in Hindusthan were unfit to govern. The Government therefore fell into the hands of the Hindus whose superior intelligence was acknowledged by the conquerors. Hindu Princes, though owing supremacy to the Mahomedans, virtually ruled independently ; the Nababs contenting themselves with the tributes they obtained. These Princes following the examples of Vikramaditya, Lakshman Sen and Bhoja Raja, encouraged learning by inviting to their Councils *pundits* whom they maintained at great expense. Many books are yet extant which were written during those times. The infant literature of Bengal owes its growth to their fostering care. Many poets have been able, on account of the favour and encouragement they obtained at the courts of these Princes, to leave behind

them works which are as many monuments to their eternal fame. Bidyapati, Kabikankan, Raya Gunakar were men who flourished in the courts of these Princes and attended them at their Councils.

The Viceroys of the Emperor of Delhi who ruled over Gour, Dacca, and Moorshedabad were monsters of lust and luxury. There time was wholly devoted to debauchery and revelry. They encouraged no language, devoted not a tithe of their time to State affairs. Their deputies, the native Princes and Zemindars greatly encouraged learning. At a time, when the art of printing was not known, when no author could hope that his works would sell, it is probable that not a single book would have come down to us but for the patronage of these native Princes and Zemindars. These favourable influences stimulated the growth of our literature, and enabled it to acquire a vocabulary, rich and varied, and an amplitude of expression which few languages have known. It reflects the highest credit on the love of learning which these men displayed when it is known that this growth of our language was attained only within two centuries.

15 April 1880

THE EDUCATION OF BRAHMO CHILDREN.

WHAT must be done for the education of our children ?—this is a question which the Brahmo Somaj must take up and answer sooner or later. With the growth and development of the body as a community, the cares of looking after the education and moral welfare of a whole generation are gradually gathering upon it. The education of the young is a proper matter for deep thought and serious deliberation for every educationist ; it is more so for a reforming and religious body like Brahmo Somaj. Speaking of the country in general, very few persons who can be called the educationists of this country, have yet devoted sufficient thought and attention to

this most important question. Go over the whole country, inspect all our schools, examine the books used for children, and you will be struck by the amazingly little thought bestowed both by parents and teachers to the early training of the infantine mind. Books composed or compiled for little children are mostly without any plan, and betray a painful want of a proper conception, on the part of the writers, of all needs of the juvenile readers. Little or no effort seems to be made to make these primers useful or attractive. The idea of instilling into the infant minds sound and correct views of men and things does not seem to occur to the writers. Compare with this general neglect the amount of time, thought, and assiduous care, bestowed by other and more enlightened nations to the education of their children. The ablest and best educated amongst them, men who have made themselves eminent in other paths of life, do not consider it waste of time or fruitless labour to think and write for the nursery. How much care is taken to store a child's mind with every kind of useful information, to touch and awaken the noblest sentiments of his heart, and to gently teach his unfolding intellect to observe and think for himself! Their nursery literature fills one with wonder and astonishment as to the amount of thought spent upon this subject. Their efforts do not cease here, every possible help in the way of directions and suggestions is given to the mothers, with a view to regulate home education, and books and magazines are regularly issued for that purpose. In spite of such efforts and the good results of such an improved machinery, advanced thinkers in those countries are dis-satisfied with the amount of progress attained in this respect, and are busy about devising fresh means of imparting instruction to the juvenile mind. Our homes are quite the reverse of that they are in those countries. Our mothers, ignorant and uneducated as they are, quite incompetent to undertake such a duty, and it generally requires years of destructive work to break down all those wrong and superstitious ideas which they are the means of instilling in childhood. Such is the state of infantine education in this

country. Brahmo parents, who are striving after a higher and more advanced social and moral ideal often feel the necessity of training up their children from very infancy to their ways of thought and practice. The battle of reform taken up in one generation, must be carried through successive generations, before any social elevation is visibly effected in this country. It is necessary then to implant in the little opening mind those religious and social ideas for which so many of us have staked so much. Instead of that if we allowed our children to suffer from the general neglect, to be constantly exposed to the thousand and one injurious influences of bad company, our cherished dreams about the social and moral elevation of the country, would be ruthlessly shattered in our very homes, and ours would be the hopeless fight with ever-increasing difficulties ; the lives of our children will be silent but terrible satires on our idle prattlings about reform and regeneration.

Fortunately for the community, this all-important subject has of late begun to occupy the attention of the members of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj ; and making some provision for it, forms a part of their programme of work. This subject was mooted at the last annual Conference of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj, and some very useful expressions of opinion were collected on the occasion. The Executive Committee of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj was then formally entrusted with the charge of drawing up a scheme for the education of Brahmo children. The Executive Committee ... also appointed a sub-committee for the purpose ; but the progress upto this time made in this very important work is not cheering. Time should not be lost in drawing up a scheme. Those who live in the metropolis may not immediately feel the necessity of doing something in this respect. There are good institutions and also several other agencies of religious and moral education in the city, but people living in the distant mofussil where there are no good institutions and no community of fellow-believers, most keenly feel that something must be done for the education of their children. In the midst of hard work

and many engagements it is not quite practicable for a father to undertake the duties of a teacher at home, consequently it behoves the community, in the interests of all, to step, as far as practicable, into his place and undertake the important work. Any legitimate effort earnestly made to remove this want, will meet, we doubt not, with hearty support from every Brahmo father who is in the least concerned in the education of his children.

Three very important means were suggested at the last annual conference. First, opening boarding institutions exclusively for Brahmo children ; second, issuing books tracts and magazines for the children and for the mothers with a view to enable them to train their children ; third, training a number of Zenana teachers who would go about the country superintending the education of the mothers. Some of these schemes are not quite practicable in the present circumstances of the community. It is the business of the Executive Committee of the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj to take these and similar suggestions into earnest consideration and draw up a scheme which will remove a very serious and pressing want, which is at present felt by a large number of Brahmo parents.

29 April 1880

THE NATIVE ARMIES OF INDIA

THE position of Native officers in the Indian armies has been discussed by General Sir John Adye in a remarkably able paper in the *April* number of the *Nineteenth Century*. The object of the article is to insist upon the justice and necessity of offering a career to Native of India in the military service of the Government. The first part of the article is historical. It gives a brief narrative of the rise and progress of the Sepoy army, and shows that its original organisation did offer a career to Native officers, which is now denied them ; and that the old system was a marvellous success. Sir John

Adye quotes many high authorities in support of the position taken up by him. Sir John Kaye remarks :—“Our first Sepoy lives were raised in the southern peninsula, when the English and French powers were contending for the dominant influence in that part of the country. They were few in number, and at the outset commonly held in reserve to support our European fighting men. But little by little they proved that they were worthy to be entrusted with higher duties ; and once trusted they went boldly to the front. Under Native commandants, for the most part Mahomedans or high cast Rajput Hindoos, but disciplined and directed by the English captains, their pride was flattered and their energies stimulated by the victories they gained. How they fought in the attack of Madura, how they fought in the defence of Arcot, how they crossed bayonets. foot to foot, with the best French troops at Cuddalore, historians have delighted to tell. All the power and responsibility, all the honour and rewards, were not then monopolised by the English captains. Large bodies of troops were sometimes despatched on hazardous enterprises under the independent command of a Native leader ; and it was not thought an offence to European soldier to send him to fight under a black commandant. That black commandant was then a great man, in spite of his colour. He rode on horse-back at the head of his men, and a mounted staff officer, a native adjutant, carried his commands to the subadars of the respective companies. And a brave man or a skilful leader was honoured for his bravery or his skill as much as under the folds of a turban as under a round hat.” The only English officers in those early days were a captain and adjutant per battalion. The duties of this English officer who was well versed in the Native language and capable of appreciating the Native character, were rather those of a commissioner or field deputy, than of a commandant. The Native commandant received very large allowance and, enjoying the substantive rank of major, he could not be commanded by a captain. “In the primary organisation, of our Native battalions”, observes Sir John Adye, “we acted on the

principle that, whilst they could be strengthened by drill, discipline, and the knowledge of European tactics, their leaders for the most part should be men of their own race, language, religion and habits." Sir John wishes it to be borne in mind that under this system the sepoy battalions fought with marvellous success, and contributed in a great measure to the solid foundation of the British Empire in the East. Sir Henry Lawrence wrote in 1844 :—"Clive's, Lawrence's, and Coote's battalions had seldom with them more than three or four officers, and yet the deeds of those days are not surpassed by those of the present."

Sir John Adye next shows that the liberal principles which guided the formation of the early Sepoy lives were soon abandoned, "under the influx of English ideas and prejudices." He writes :—"As our dominion extended, the European element increased and almost insensibly, as the responsibilities became greater and war-fare more scientific, it seems to follow that a large proportion of English officers should be added to our Native battalions. The very same argument prevailed at that time as are so often put forward now, that Natives, though brave, are liable to panic, and cannot be thoroughly relied upon unless closely associated with Europeans and led by English officers ; that they are, as it were, men of inferior races, who must always be watched than trusted. The assumption is so easy and so flattering in our pride, that then as now it almost naturally received a general consent." So thoroughly was the old system abandoned that Sir John Malcolm wrote in 1826 :—"In the native army, as it is at present constituted, no native can rise to the enjoyment of any military command, that is, he cannot unless in extraordinary cases, when the European officers are sick or absent, expect to have under his own orders a body of more than thirty or forty men." The evils and dangers, arising from the abandonment of the liberal principles on which the Sepoy lives had been originally raised were clearly perceived by statesmen like Henry Lawrence and Sir Thomas Munro. The former, writing in 1855, pointed out that the

Natives had no outlet for their talents and ambition as old, and said :—“Those outlets for restlessness and ability are gone ; others are closing. It behoves us therefore, now more than ever, to give legitimate rewards, and, as far as practicable employment, to the energetic few—to that leaven that is in every lump—the leaven that may secure our empire, or may disturb, nay, even destroy it.” Again :—“Legitimate outlets for military energy and ability in all ranks and among all classes, must be given. The minds of Subadars and Resseldars, Sepoys and Sowars, can no more with safety be forever cramped, trammelled, and restricted, as at present, than can a twenty foot embankment restrain the Atlantic.” Sir Thomas Munro, writing to the Governor-General of India, in 1817, observed that “no elevation of character can be expected among men who, in the military line, cannot attain to any rank above that of Subadar, where they are as much below an ensign as an ensign is below the Commandar-in-Chief, and who in the civil line can hope for nothing beyond some petty judicial or revenue office, in which they may by corrupt means make up for their slender salary. The consequence, therefore, of the conquest of India by the British arms would be, in place of raising, to debase the whole people. There is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the Government of their country as in British India.” The evil effects caused by the abandonment of the liberal principles which had originally guided the formation of the Sepoy army developed themselves slowly ; and that army had at last ceased to exist with the Mutiny of 1857. “A retrospect of the history of our Native armies,” remarks Sir John Adye, “clearly proves that, beginning in true principles we gradually drifted from one error into another, until at end the whole fabric tumbled to pieces in our hands, and we had literally to begin almost *de novo* in the re-organisation of our Indian forces.”

In considering the re-organisation of the Native armies of India after the Mutiny, Sir John Adye observes : “In the matter of Native officers there is also a shade of improvement,

a trace that more liberal ideas prevail, but it does not amount to much." He goes on to say: "The Population of our Indian Empire is said to exceed 200 millions, and contains not only numerous princes of high birth and ancient lineage, but great numbers of Native gentlemen, who from their large possessions, high character, and leading position, are deservedly men of influence in a very aristocratic country. The history of India, not only of bygone days but of our own time, is replete with examples of Natives distinguished as soldiers and as military administrators. Although some of the Native officers in our army are, as a result of our present arrangements, infirm, apathetic and useless, still even within the poor and limited sphere which the system affords, there always have been, still are many distinguished not only for courage in the field but for their devotion and loyalty to our service. We have in short every reason to be proud of and to cherish the fine qualities which continue to flourish, as it were, men in so poor a soil, and in such a chilling atmosphere. We know that of all professions, that of soldier is the one which most attracts bolder spirits under our rule; and yet we say to them all that, no man whatever may be his birth, position, talents, experience, or devotion, shall in any case rise in army beyond the position of a troop or company leader. ... The difficulties and responsibilities of ruling such an empire as we have gained in India are almost incalculable; but the only chance of success lies in the maintenance of those courageous principles in which it was founded; and its endurance can only rest in the solid foundations of justice and of trust in those, over whom we are called upon to rule." It is for the great Liberal party who have now returned to power in England to act upon the principle that, England cannot rule successfully over the teeming millions of India unless she recognises "the necessity not only of giving peace and justice to the masses, but high place and responsible position to the great, the talented, and the deserving."

BRITISH INTERESTS IN THE EAST

SUCH is the title of a remarkably able and thoughtful article in the April number of the *Nineteenth Century* from the pen of Mr. M. E. Grant-Duff. The views expressed in this article have acquired a fresh significance from the return of the Liberals to power. Mr. Grant-Duff is a prominent member of the party who have now come into office ; and his utterances on the important subject he has taken up, are entitled to careful consideration. He first of all clearly explains what is meant by British interests in the East. He writes :—“No department of foreign politics is more important to British statesmen than that which concerns the affairs of the East, by which rather vague term I mean, the affairs of the larger and more important countries which lie east of the gulf of Bothina or the Adriatic, and west of the Ocean, which washes the further shores of Asia. If it were not that within those limits we possess many colonies and one gigantic empire, a continent in itself, we could afford to look with far greater equanimity upon the chances and changes of European politics ; we might leave undone much which we do, and do much which we leave undone. The hardy adventurers who laid in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the foundation of our Indian Empire, little dreamt how profoundly they were modifying the whole course of British politics for ages to come. Far on in the last century the idea does not seem to have dawned, even amidst the victories of Clive, upon the keen and practised intelligence of Chesterfield.”

The larger countries with whose affairs England is brought into close connection by her Indian Empire and other Eastern Dependencies, are, as pointed out by Mr. Grant-Duff, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Russia, Persia, Afghanistan, China, and Japan. But in the paper under notice he confines himself to the first six as they are the problems which have been before the British Public in recent discussions. Mr. Grant-Duff proceeds to answer the question, ‘what are our interests in Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Russia, Persia and Afghanistan.’

With regard to Greece, he states that England has no interest whatever in that country except that it should be prosperous, by which he means that it should be richer, safer, more accessible, more worthy in all respects of her great traditions. He comes next to Turkey and observes :—“Our one great interest in Turkey is that the people who live in Turkey should rise as rapidly as possible to a level with those portions of Europe which have lived under happier conditions, developing as they do so their natural capabilities, each in its own way. That is our great interest in Turkey, and our second interest is that Constantinople should not pass into the hands of any Power, which would be at all likely to use that position so as to domineer over the Mediterranean.” It is for British statesmen to reconcile these two conflicting interests. The Turk, thinks Mr. Grant-Duff, is no longer capable either of working the prosperity of the races of the Balkan Peninsula or of guarding the straits ; and that Constantinople must pass into the hands of some ruler who can do both. How is this to be accomplished ? Mr. Grant-Duff says that there are only two courses possible. “The first is that Constantinople should be made a free city with a certain territory on either side of the straits, guaranteed by the Europe ; and the second is, that it should become the seat of the western prince, whoever he may be, who may best unite the interests of all Europe, including England and Russia.” In the Sultan’s Asiatic dominions England’s only interest is the prosperity of the people. Mr. Grant-Duff, as might be expected, strongly condemns the Anglo-Turkish convention which, the reader knows, has guaranteed the Sultan’s Asiatic dominions against Russia. He rightly calls it “one of the maddest things that ever was done ;” and remarks :—“Granted even that it were a benefit to the Sultan’s Asiatic dominions, a most doubtful proposition, it is a heavy burden laid upon a people sorely burdened. Either it will remain a mere engagement on paper or it will involve our fighting Russia where we are weak and she is strong ; it will involve the expenditure of vast sums of money in railways and other works to be

guaranteed by the British tax-payer." Coming to Egypt, Mr. Grant-Duff observes that British interests in Egypt are the absolute freedom of the Isthmus transit, and secondly the good Government of the valley of the Nile. He says :— "My advice is, let us keep our eyes fixed upon Egypt, improving in every possible way our influence in and our means of transit through that country. That is the true policy for a great naval power, which can be strong at any moment at once in the Levant and in the Red Sea. Let us attend to that, and do all we can without undue interference, to obtain good government for the Egyptian peasantry." Mr. Grant-Duff then passes to Russia. "Our interest in Russia", he writes, "is that the Muscovite Jingoes should learn a little more geography, and come to know a little more what is possible. I believe that the antagonism between the two countries depends very largely upon ignorance. If each would only go its own way, do what it thinks best for itself without troubling itself very much as to what the other was doing, I think our interests would be about as likely to collide as those of a shark and tiger." Mr. Grant-Duff points out that no serious person, not even Sir Henry Rawlinson, dreams of Russia being able to invade India in our generation. He believes that Russia has a very great destiny, and desires that enlightenment should spread through the land. "In the train of enlightenment will follow Free Trade, and under a system of Free Trade the Russia Empire will become one of the very best markets for all the products of our skilled industries." What are British interests in Persia—is the question which Mr. Grant-Duff proceeds to answer, "Our interests in Persia are that Persia should do well, nothing more and nothing less." When the Anglo-Indian was Gallo-phobic at the beginning of the century, the favourite idea in India was the Persian scare, as the favourite idea in these days is the Russian scare.

The most interesting portion of Mr. Grant-Duff's article under notice, is that in which he discusses British interests in Afghanistan. He first takes up the Heart question and

says :—“Now what is Heart ? Heart is a fortress strong even now, and capable of being made by European engineers a place of enormous strength situated in a fertile country, about as far, speaking roughly, from the old frontier of India, that is the frontier which existed when the Beaconsfield Government came into power, as Dover is from Cape Wrath. It lies, however, on the only road by which an army, organized as modern armies are, attempt to invade India. If everything were quite different from what it is now, if Russia were twice as strong as well as far more populous than she is, and had at her head a man with the genius for war of the Great Frederick, who desired to attack India, he might conceivably do so *via* Heart. That place, besides, is utterly out of what, to use a familiar expression, may be called Russia’s beat. People who think that it is the most natural thing in the world for Russia to advance in Central Asia, have long foreseen that her eating up Khira and Bokhara and the Turkoman into the bargain, was a mere question of time, are altogether opposed to the idea of her going to Heart, and I am bound to say that Russia has never shown any inclination to go thither. Still, partly from its own importance and partly from the fact that we have become so committed in the sight of all Asia to insisting upon Heart not falling under Russian influence, Liberal statesmen have always been and are strongly opposed to its passing into the hands of Persia....

“It is said that in thoroughly weak and ignorant hands, so admirable and valuable an instrument as Sir Henry Rawlinson should have become a mere cause of mischief to his country. As long as the Duke of Argyll was at the India Office, with Lord Clarendon and Lord Granville in charge of our foreign affairs, he was most useful, for while his large knowledge of geographical and historical details connected with Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia was always respected and turned to account whenever occasion arose, while he was treated as a most valuable member of the Secretary of State’s Council and as a great Asiatic statesman, he was not allowed to mould the policy either of the Home or of the Indian Government.”

Mr. Grant-Duff shows that Heart cannot be made over to Persia. He combats the position taken up by Sir Henry Rawlinson that England is as well able to exert pressure upon Persia as Russia, and demonstrates its utter untenability. He states that England would gain nothing by attacking Persia's seaboard while Russia if she really meant seriously to put pressure upon the Shah would be in possession of Tabreez and Teheran. Mr. Grant-Duff disposes of Sir Henry Rawlinson's proposal for a defensive alliance between England and Persia against Russia with the remark that it "would be the defensive alliance of a lion and a fox against a tiger ; the lion might or might not be victorious in the end, but the fox would certainly not be of much use to the nobler animal, and would, if he attempted to show fight, unquestionably come to a very bad end !" Mr. Grant-Duff has the following closing word about Afghanistan :— "What are our interests in Afghanistan ? If any one had asked me that question when the Gladstone Government was in power, I should have replied in words which I used in July 1869, when speaking on behalf of that Government :— What we want is a quiet Afghanistan, just as we want a quiet Burmah : we desire, in short, to see a fine country rescued from miserable anarchy. But what am I to say now ? The policy of Sir John Lawrence, taken up by Lord Mayo, and most strongly supported by the Duke of Argyll, did rescue that fine country from miserable anarchy ; but the blunders of the present Government have thrown Afghanistan (which they found quieter and more prosperous, and with its population better disposed towards us than it had ever been since 1838) into a state of the most pitiable anarchy, into anarchy the end of which cannot be foreseen by the most clear-sighted statesman in Europe or Asia. For the present, I can only answer the question, what are our interest in Afghanistan, by saying our interest are to get out of the frightful scrape into which Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury have got us with as little loss and discredit as possible. The discredit is immeasurable, but I will not dwell on that. The loss, a less important thing, will be measured

by millions and millions. Already the Government owe to many millions, but I do not believe that we have yet even an approximate idea of what the present war will cost, directly and indirectly, before it is over. Let us remember Abyssinia, and the statements that were made by the same men and colleagues of the same men; remember how utterly at variance they turned out to be with facts of the case, and then let us believe just as much as we please of what we are told about the second and third Afghan wars." Now that the Liberals have returned to power, we anxiously wait to see how they settled the Afghan question.

3 June 1880

RECLAMATION OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

THE establishment of the Reformatory School for the reclamation of juvenile offenders, marked a new era in the administration of Criminal Justice in this country. It is one of the noblest missions that the British Government is engaged in carrying out. In placing before our readers the encouraging facts embodied in the Resolution of the Government of Bengal on the annual report of the Reformatory School at Alipore for 1879, we are involuntarily reminded of one who is no more in the land of the living, but to whose visit to this country we owe this most highly beneficial and philanthropic Institution. There can be very little doubt that a great impetus was given to the question of the reclamations of the criminals, especially the juvenile class, by the visit of Miss Mary Carpenter to this country, Act V of 1876 which led to the foundation of the Reformatory School, was no doubt the indirect result of that philanthropic lady's labours in India on the subject of jail discipline and reformation of the criminals. According to the Resolution,—the Reformatory School, established under Act V of 1876, was opened on the 20th February 1878, and on the 23rd March some thirty boys

were transferred to it from the Presidency Jail. There were 72 boys in the School on the 1st January 1879, and during the past year, there were 33 admissions—18 from the mofussil, and 15 direct from the courts at the Presidency, Alipore, and Sealdah. Of the total of 105 boys, 6 who were found to be habitual criminals and likely to exercise an evil effect on the school, were re-transferred to jail, one died, one escaped, and one was released; so that 96 boys remained in the Reformatory at the end of the past year. Of those, 49 were Hindoos and 43 Mahomedans. Considerable difficulty was experienced in the beginning, as was very natural, in enforcing discipline, but the difficulty was gradually over-come by the double method of awarding punishment to the guilty and reward to those who had improved. "The number of punishment during the year was large, amounting on the average to 11.8 each inmate; but many of the punishments were of a trivial nature. On the other hand, very many of the boys received rewards for good conduct under the mark system in force in the school, by which each boy is able to earn a small weekly allowance given for good conduct and industry. Half of the allowance is given to the boy at once, to be spent in any harmless way he pleases, and the other half is deposited in the Alipore Savings Bank and will be given to him on release." Due care was taken of the health of the boys in fixing the hours of duty and work. "Three hours a day in the summer and four hours in the winter are spent by the boys in school. At first the time given to study was two hours longer than it is now, but it was reduced by the Board after full consideration, and with the Lieutenant-Governor's approval. The boys are reported to have worked better both in school and at their trades since the change was made. The health of the inmates of the school was for better in 1879 than in the previous year, the admissions to hospital being 71 against 119 in 1878, although the average number of boys in the Reformatory rose from 49.62 in 1878 to 85.67 in the past year." The cost seems to be pretty higher than in other Jails, but considering the result, it does not seem at all extravagant. The total expenditure-

on the Reformity during the year amounted to Rs. 133-5-6 per head as compared with Rs. 238-4-10 per head in 1878. No comparison between the two years can, however, be properly made, as in 1878 there were many preliminary expenses. The cost of diet was Rs. 30-7-3 per head, or Rs. 1-8-4 in excess of that in 1878. The charge is somewhat higher than in the Alipore, Presidency and Russa Jails ; but this is accounted for by its being through desirable to give the boys food of somewhat better quality than is given in Jail, and partly by the contractors demanding higher rates, as the supplies are comparatively small." It is extremely gratifying to find that the boys have taken to useful works according to their position in life, so that when they come out, they will be able to earn their livelihood honestly by the "sweat of their brow". The Resolution goes on to say on this subject :—"The manufactory department of the Reformatory was very successful. After deducting the cost of raw materials used in manufactures, and the pay of the extra trade-instructors, the net profits amounted to Rs. 1,589-8-10 ; and in addition to this several minor public works in connection with the school were carried out by the boys, the value of their work being estimated at Rs. 156-8. The trades on which the boys were employed during the year were those of a gardener, book-binder, carpenter, can-worker, blacksmith and tinsmith. In 1878 the only industries were book-binding and gardening. In the past year the garden not only gave a constant supply of fresh vegetables throughout the year for the institution, but the surplus garden produce yielded on sale Rs. 119." We have not slightest doubt that the Lieutenant-Governor has very good grounds to congratulate the Superintendent, Mr. Krischner, and the Board of management on the success of the school due to their superintendence and supervision. As the first institution of its kind in Bengal, we are exceedingly glad to hear of its success and we hope the school will live and prosper to serve one of the grandest objects of a good, wise and beneficent Government. Now that the experiment has proved successful in the 24-Pergunnahs, we shall be glad to see such

schools opened in almost all the Districts having Central Jajls, such as Dacca, Bhagulpore and others. The more such institutions multiply, the better for the country.

3 June 1880

POLICY OF THE NEW MINISTERS

THE new Ministry has now been formed. The fever of excitement, occasioned by the general elections, has passed away, and all the new Ministers have been re-elected by their constituencies except Sir William Harcourt, but he too has found a seat in Devonshire. Every body is burning with impatience to learn what the policy is likely to be, both at home and abroad. The Queen's message was duly delivered, and we got some inkling of the foreign policy of the new Ministers, but we did not get enough. Some of the Ministers have spoken or issued addresses to their constituents on re-election, and we are left to guess of their policy from these utterances. Although nothing definite has been laid down, yet we may very well imagine that the policy will be, at any rate, a strong vigorous and honest one, both at home and abroad. Mr. Gladstone has promised to stick to his utterances at Midlothian. In his address to the electors of Midlothian thanking them for his re-election he said "that the time for words has gone by and the time for the beginning of action is now come." "Of the political professions which I made", said Mr. Gladstone, "among you before the general election, I have only to say that they have become in their general sense and spirits *honorable engagements*, which I shall do my best as occasion offers to redeem." We have kept our readers sufficiently informed to appreciate the gist of this promise. If Mr. Gladstone regards the "political professions" he made before his electors as "honorable engagements?"—and Mr. Gladstone always means what he says—we know everything that he intends to do. But the Ministers want time to find their way

out. Lord Hartington, in his reply to the toast of "Prosperity to the Devonshire Club" with which his name was coupled as being the founder of this Liberal Club, said :—"You will not, I am sure, on such an occasion as this, expect to hear from me what is to be the policy of the Government. The time is approaching when the exposition of that policy will be made. I will only ask you now not to form too extravagant hopes as to what it may be possible to do during the short session which is before us. Our opponents even will, I think, admit that we have inherited a succession not free from complications and embarrassments. (Hear.) I will not at this moment say to whom those complications and embarrassments are in my opinion due. It will not, however, I am sure, be for a moment contended that the condition of Europe, Asia, and Africa is not full of difficulty. As for myself, I am almost aghast at the number and intricacy of the questions connected with the department of the Government of which I have taken the responsibility. (Hear, hear.) I am sure, therefore, that the country will not grudge us a little time in order to enable us to mark the details of the situation with which we have been called upon to deal, and that it will not be disappointed if we should not, during the remainder of the Session show a great amount of legislative activity." We should not therefore be impatient. It is enough that the Ministers feel the responsibilities of their high office. They must have time to master to details of their business—to mature their schemes and plans and to fix upon their line of action. Mr. Chamberlain, President of the Board of Trade, and a Radical of the advanced type, while responding to the toast of the "Brough Members", at a complementary dinner at Chelsea, said :—"That the country had now got the most Liberal Government and the largest liberal majority which had been known since 1832, and every one was naturally asking, "What is this Government going to do with its majority?" Their record lay behind them, and he did not wish that a single promise which any one of the Ministry had made upon any subject had been unsaid, or that it should be

forgotten by the electors. If they failed where it was practicable to fulfil those pledges, the electors would be justified in saying to the Government as Cromwell said to the "Rump", "Get out of this and make place for honester men." On the other hand, he did not suppose that the electors would expect that a Government representing as it did every shade of Liberal opinion should move as fast or as far as the most advanced section would desire that it should. When men agreed to work together, by that agreement they admitted the necessity of some mutual concession and compromise. They who belonged to the advanced party must sacrifice something for the right of influencing the policy of the party in general. (Cheers) What, however, they had a right to expect was that the direction in which this Government moved should be the right one. They had a right to demand from the Government that its policy abroad unlike that which had prevailed for the last six years, should be a policy of justice, and one which would favour liberty and freedom, and not oppression. They had a right to demand that the home policy should be one of wise and continual progress. He believed they would find that such would be the policy of the present Government; they felt deeply the responsibility imposed upon them by the potent voice of the great majority of the people whose interests they desired to serve. (Cheers.) Sir Charles Dilke, Under-secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the same occasion said:—"That the recent elections, in which that brought played a not unworthy part, eventuated as every one knew, in driving the late Government out of office. They feel in "a shower of stars". Most of them took the Bath, and he certainly wondered that the late Home Secretary should have taken that particular decoration after his recent experiences in connexion with London water. (Laughter.) With regard to the policy of the present Government he could say little, because, not being a member of the Cabinet, he was not in possession of the latest facts with regard to the position of home questions; and on the other hand, being...of the foreign office,

he could say nothing of foreign affairs, because he might know too much. (Laughter.) He could say this much, however, regarding home affairs—that in the composition of the Cabinet all shades of Liberalism were now well represented. (Cheers.) They had a complete security not only that their views would be understood, but that, in the shaping of the general legislation of the future, due consideration would be paid to the desires of the people. The Bills which had been promised by those now at the head of the Administration undoubtedly would be brought before Parliament in due time. With regard to foreign questions, he might say this much—that the policy of the present Government would be a policy of firmness, consistent with due respect to the rights of all the other nations of the world. (Cheers.) Lord Granville and the Cabinet of which he was a member, were pursuing the ends of the reform of Turkey and of the complete execution of the unfulfilled portions of the treaty of Berlin, and they were pursuing those ends by the means of the concerted action of the whole of the European powers. (Cheers.) Sir H. D. Wolff made a speech last week at Portsmouth on the Conservative side, in which he said he hoped that in the future there would be no swagger in the policy of the Government. What greater condemnation in so few words could be have pronounced upon the policy of the late Government? (Hear, hear.) He (Sir C. Dilke) could say but little of the foreign policy of the Government, but at least he could promise that there would be no swagger in it. What was said would be meant." (Cheers.) Sir Arthur Hobhouse, who knows India thoroughly well, and who was one of the guests at Devonshire Club dinner assured us, "speaking in the interest of India in the presence of one (Lord Hartington) to whom those interests were especially committed, that we should have a Government of this country for the benefit of the Indian people; that we should not be bound to have spent their money on wars of ambition, or to govern them by shutting their mouths, or to have created a famine fund which was spent for other purposes." When we say we expect great many things from

the Liberal Government, we do not mean that they will set all India free by granting us political independence,—and it is doubtful whether in the present state of our country such a thing is at all desirable,—but what we mean is, that we shall have ample security against injustice, oppression, and needless interference with our vested rights and privileges as loyal subjects of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen and Empress of India.

10 June 1880

THE EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEANS IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY

ARCHDEACON BALY has submitted a new report on this subject which is now under the consideration of the Government of India. In this report, he discusses at great length, the proposals made in the preliminary report submitted a few months ago. He makes the following remarks on the proposed educational rate.—“The recommendation, in the preliminary report which has excited most discussion and difference of opinion is that of the local educational rate to meet the local school expenditure. As it is plainly of primary importance to settle in what made the necessary funds to provide sufficient and suitable schools for Europeans in India should be raised, and to take care that the mode selected should effect its purpose in the least objectionable and oppressive manner, I will state the reasons which appear to point to the local educational rate as best fulfilling this condition. If the Government of India undertook the entire charge and cost of European schools, nothing need be said on the subject; but granting that the very obvious objections, which would immediately and very loudly be raised against this, were entirely unreasonable and not to be listened to, and that the Government of India and the Imperial Government could, would, and felt that they ought to, take the step, yet

even then it would be scarcely possible to work it, and maintain the existing constitution of the schools. ... A purely State scheme of education must eventually become secular. The only system on which experience shows that Church and State will work harmoniously together is that the State should grant the necessary aid to the religious schools, supervising and controlling their secular education, and leaving to the churches the control of the religious teaching, subject to certain clauses protecting the religious freedom of scholars professing another communion. This is the system which has been adopted at home, and it is the only one which, with so many Anglican and Roman schools, and with the necessity for religious instruction in boarding schools, can be supposed practical or suitable for India. And under this system that portion of the school expenditure not supplied by the State from the general revenue of the country must be supplied from other sources—the fees of scholars, and contributions from the European public, either raised voluntarily, or as now in England, by local educational rates locally expended. Unless the theory of the entire maintenance by the State of European schools be insisted on, one or other of the two last mentioned methods of providing the necessary funds must be adopted. I do not hesitate to say that, if these could be surely and sufficiently provided by voluntary effort, I should prefer this method to a compulsory rate; but the present state of European education places it beyond the shadow of a doubt that voluntary effort has not sufficed in the past, does not suffice at the present, and is unlikely to suffice in the future. Some of those who have expressed their disapproval of an educational rate have supposed that it will, but I appeal from a vague, and baseless expectation to the hard facts of the case, that one-half of the children of school-going years are at this moment out of school, that there is not a sufficient number of school places for them; that the quality of the education in a large proportion of existing schools is bad, principally owing to want of means; and that in many towns and stations with a

considerable population of Europeans, although the want of an European school has been repeatedly acknowledged for the last four or five years, voluntary effort has hitherto failed in establishing one." We must confess that Archdeacon Baly has made out a strong case for the imposition of a compulsory education rate. It is obvious that the Government cannot in justice to the other sections of the community, undertake the entire charge and cost of European schools. The Government is already doing for the education of Europeans and Eurasians much more than it should do. Archdeacon Baly admits that fully one-half of European children of school-going years are under instruction. What proportion of children of Hindus and Mussalmans, from whom the bulk of the revenue of the Empire is derived, we ask, is in the schools ? In the address to the General Council on Education in India of Lord Ripon, which we noticed in our last, this proportion is put down at one in every ten. How can, then, the friends of the European and Eurasian contend that the Government neglects to provide for the educational requirements of those classes ? It would very much cool the ardour of those friends when they would be called upon to slip their hands into their pocket, and pay for the support of special schools for European and Eurasian children. The European community in India ought to feel ashamed when Archdeacon Baly publicly records his belief that there is no hope of the voluntary system proving successful.

Another question discussed at some length in Archdeacon Baly's new report is the proposal made in the preliminary report to establish a Training College at Naini Tal. To this proposal two objections have been made. The first objection is, that the establishment of a Training College is unnecessary, there being already a plentiful supply of well-trained teachers in the country, and the second objection is that it would not be proper to establish the proposed training college on Church of England basis. With respect to the first objection, the Archdeacon contends that there is not a plentiful supply of well-trained teachers in the country ; and that "pupil teachers

can only be thoroughly fitted for their profession by passing through a training college ; and so essential is this preparation considered in England that, it is made a *sine qua non* that the principal teachers of all aided schools should have been taught in a training college or have passed its examination." We yield to none in our estimate of the importance of securing an adequate supply of well-trained teachers for public schools ; but we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that in India good teachers for European schools can be had. If what Archdeacon Baly says be true, it would be a matter for surprise as well as pity. The Archdeacon, in dealing with the second objection, argues that a training college for Roman Catholics is not required. "I abstained", he says, "from recommending the establishment of a separate college for Roman Catholics, not from any disregard of their claims, and their eminent service to European education, which, perhaps, few in India are in a position to know so well as myself, nor still less from the wish to place them at a disadvantage, and cripple their work, but from the sincere opinion I entertain, that the schools of the Roman Church can obtain a better supply of male and female teachers from the religious orders of Europe on cheaper terms than ever they could train them in India. If the English Church had equal advantage in this respect, and could bring teachers from England on the same terms, I should not have considered a training college in India a necessity at all." That the Church of England cannot get out competent teachers from Europe on the same terms as the Roman Church can, is a fact which speaks volumes in favour of the self-sacrificing spirit of the members of the Church of Rome.

Archdeacon Baly recommends the enlargement of the existing Free schools at Allahabad and Lahore, for about 300 and 200 children respectively. The net monthly cost of these two schools will come up to over Rs. 3,000 and their buildings will cost nearly three lakhs. Then, the training college at Naini Tal will cost Rs. 2,400 per month besides Rs. 75,000 for buildings. The Government will have to bear more than 75 per cent of the total cost of the proposed Training College.

Then, aided schools are to be established at four stations in Bengal, six in the North-West and Oudh and two in the Punjab. What the cost of these aided schools will come to is not stated in the report. We do not know what will be the total cost of carrying out the recommendations made by Archdeacon Baly ; but there can be no doubt that it will come to a good round sum. The general revenues of the empire already bear a disproportionately large share of the charge for European and Eurasian education ; any further allotment from the public funds for this purpose will involve grave injustice to Hindus and Mussulmans who pay the bulk of the revenue. Archdeacon Baly has not yet been able to mature a definite scheme for the industrial training and employment of European and Eurasian youths. He is collecting information on the subject, and when he has formed a correct idea of the number for whom new employment and industrial training are required, he will lay his proposal before Government.

1 July 1880

BRAHMOISM AND THE MASSES II

IN a previous article, we pointed out in those columns, that a religion will never last unless it takes root among the unlettered masses, and that if Brahmoism is to be the future Church of the world, strenuous efforts must be made for the dissemination and growth of the truths among the people. Today we will endeavour to enumerate some of the principal characteristics of a popular religion.

First—The first and the most essential characteristic of a popular religion is that it must be simple. The metaphysical elements in a religion are for the learned few. It will take a long time for the masses to be so educated as to be able to grasp the metaphysical dogmas of an ideal religion. It is not necessary for them to understand those dogmas, which though giving food to the mind of the intelligent, do not form

any essential part of a religion. What we want is to make the people understand and appreciate the cardinal truths regarding the nature of God and of man of their mutual relations. Our religion is pre-eminently simple. In it, there are no prophets to be revered, no book-revelation to be feared, and no mediator to mislead the sinner. There is the all merciful God on the one side with his loving arms outstretched to receive the repentant, prodigal, and the sin-stricken man on the other. Shrinking from the Divine embrace, our religion solves the equation of this grand relation. This solution, which is "repent and receive the proffered grace" is easily understood by the most illiterate, if he be earnest and his soul hankers after righteousness. Illustrations of the law of crime and punishment, of repentance and pardon, daily occurring before his eyes, make him familiar with the action of the law. So if Brahmoism is to be ever accepted by the masses, it must not be the complicated thing the name now signifies, but Brahmoism shorn of its doctrines and controversies, schisms and differences,—the simple theism which sleeps in every created heart and requires to be only known to be prized —the theism that warms the dullest intellect to the pitch of the enthusiast.

Secondly—A religion to be agreeable to the masses must be all embracing and sympathetic,—sympathy and love must be its watch-words. It must be musical—it must be sweet. The people must not be frightened away by pictures of false asceticism and harsh dogmatic cant. The popular religion will enter into every phase of popular life, and while gently correcting its errors, uphold and sanctify all that is innocent. The cynic hatred of religious preachers for all popular pastimes, has served more than any thing else to sure away the people from studying our religion. Our preachers if they wish to be popular and to see their teaching accepted, should enter into their life more thoroughly than at present and enlarge their circle of sympathy.

Lastly, the mass religion must be real. Dreams and impracticable ideas, existing in the worked-up-imagination of the

insane enthusiast, should never be brought to bear upon the tender hearts of an artless multitude. Religion is of no use if it consists only, of the hobbies of a particular preacher of certain erudite doctrines. The people's religion must be a part and parcel of their daily life. It must contribute to the development of their character amidst the trials and temptations of this life. Idle dreams and phantasies have been the ruin of this country. They have smothered the native energy of our character and made us what we are. These should be avoided by all means. The motto of the popular religion should be in the words of the poet,—

“Act, act in the living present
Heart within and God o'erhead.”

It should touch the people to follow truth in all cases and at all cost, and to regulate their conduct towards their relatives and neighbours by the principles of love and sympathy, justice and self-sacrifice. These facts ought to be borne in mind by our preachers when preaching the truths of Brahmoism to the people.

We urge on the Brahmo community the importance of diverting towards the masses, the stream of efforts for proselytising the middle and upper classes. They are the hopes of the country ; on their elevation depends the solution of the chief problems of our national greatness. It is idle to expect that it will be done by a secular Government. The elevation of the people is commonly achieved by religion. This was understood thoroughly by the great prophet of Nuddea who, of all the reformers and preachers of the world, had effected the best and the most effective system of preaching to the masses, National unity, which we sadly want, can only be worked out by the agency of religion. The responsibility of disseminating the truths of our religion in this country is therefore the heavier.

We throw the following practical suggestions for the consideration of the Brahmo community.

The first thing to be aimed at is to make the people more conversant with the principles of our religion than they are at present. We are of opinion that many would gladly embrace

the same but for want of information on the subject. Let them but know and understand these principles and they will not fail to be accepted by the people. This may be done (1) by the preachings of resident missionaries in Mofussil centres, (2) by issuing easy popular tracts and moral tales, (3) by hymns and kirtans, (4) by the good examples and earnest efforts of Brahmos living in the Mofussil. These may very well be aided by sick-visiting and distributing medicines to the poor. It is necessary therefore for missionaries and lay-preachers to know a little of the medical science.

8 July 1880

THE PARISIS OF BOMBAY

UNDER the above title, we have before us a pamphlet containing the report of a very learned and interesting lecture delivered at a meeting of the Bethune Society by Dr. R. L. Mittra. After a brief description of Bombay, the vitality, life energy, and the enterprise of which city form a deep contrast to the apathy, inertness and the cheerless aspect of the other towns of India, Dr. Mittra proceeds to give a succinct account of the Parsis of Bombay, their history, social customs and manners. The impression produced by the Parsis on Dr. Mittra is very favourable and the following quotation will convey to our readers a summary of the lecturer's opinion of them : "And foremost in this race for advancement and struggle for existence come the Parsis, the Yankees of the East, who are as well up in the art of manufacturing wooden nutmegs as in treading the higher and nobler walks of life."

In briefly tracing the early history of the Parsis, the lecturer tells us how the Indo-Aryans and the Parsi-Aryans were living together in terms of the closest friendship in the earliest times on the broad plateau of Central Asia to the north of the Hindukush, and how in the time religious differences separated them ; the Indo-Aryans proceeding south-east and forming the

Hindu nation in Northern India ; and Parsi-Aryans south-west and founding the kingdom of Persia. The Parsis of Bombay are the descendants of the latter. Dr. Mittra then follows their history through good fortune, complimenting them throughout on their religious fervour, devotion, learning and industry, and finally lands them in India. We were disposed to dispute one or two facts in connection with the historical part of the lecture, but we think any discussion of that sort would be out of place here and lead to no good results.

The lecturer, after a brief notice of the words and phrases which have an affinity with those of their Hindu brethren, and which the Parsis have maintained throughout the long years of separation, proceeds to discuss about the life, manner and customs of the modern Parsis. He describes the changes brought about by the introduction into their homes of English customs "unencumbered by religious and caste restrictions"; and says, "anxious always to push themselves forward, the Parsis have taken to copying the English models set before them much more ardently than the Hindus; and the change it has brought on is immense, and is particularly observable in the domestic habits of the people. At the beginning of this century, the Parsi at home differed very little from his Hindu fellow subjects. His dress and that of his wife and daughters, it has been shown, differed not at all from those of the Hindus. The furniture of his house was the same, and he enjoyed life, squatting on cushions and carpets like the Hindus. His victuals consisted of rice, home-made unleavened bread, kid, mutton, and vegetable, dressed exactly in the same way as Hindu dishes are. He ate from plates of silver, bronze, or brass according to circumstances, as did the Hindus; and his lady sat apart and took her meals separately from the male members of the family." But all these customs have vanished except with the very lowest. "In no respectable Parsi house, are the old *farsh* and *tokia* to be met with, chairs and couches have entirely set them aside; metal plates have made room for glass and China; the meal is now served on English tables, and tea, leavened bread and pastry figure thereon."

Dr. Mittra, after this general summary, takes into consideration every phase of the Parsi life : the education of their children, their marriage ceremonies and religious festivals, and they are all described with great force and clearness. As regards education he says :—“The change is also very markedly noticeable in matters of education. As regards boys, the necessity for English education as means for earning their livelihood is imperative, and it is not remarkable, therefore, that one should see all the Parsi boys sent to school. The schools are either supported largely by the Parsi community, or are self-supporting. From a rough estimate furnished to me by a leading member of the community, I find the total number of boys attending schools is 5,000, which in a community of 44,000 persons must include nearly the whole of the school-going population. Nearly the same amount of attention is paid to female education. There are in the town altogether 37 Guzarati schools, teaching 2,800 girls. The teaching is necessarily of an elementary character ; but careful attention is paid to neatness and cleanliness in writing, and out of some scores of writing-books shown me by little girls of 8 to 10 years of age I did not notice a single blot or interlineation. Their cyphering was also fair, and very creditable to them. Singing and needle-work are taught in almost all the schools, and the piano is, though rare, not altogether unknown.” On marriage the lecturer remarks that “the marriage ceremony of the Parsis corresponds very closely with those of the Hindus as regards the observances respected by the ladies. Of course it is also the season for feasting and merriment and exchanging presents, as it is in all civilized parts of the world ; but it is unattended by any complicated ritual. There is not even any necessity for going to the temple or the church. It is celebrated in one’s private dwelling, if it is large enough for the accommodation of the guests, or in one of the three public houses which are kept ready furnished at Bombay and let out on hire for the purpose. This is a curious arrangement, and I have not heard or read of anything of the kind among any other civilized people. The marital contract is always attested by the priests of the

two contracting parties, and consecrated by a short service from the Avesta, which is addressed to the happy couple while they stand holding a piece of cloth between them. Blessings follow, and paddy and cocoanut kernels are thrown over the couple to emphasize these blessings with material symbols." The Parsis are not ascetics by any means and Dr. Mittra lays stress on the point and remarks that all their religious ceremonies are of a festive character. "Nor is fasting tolerated by it, the torturing of the flesh being considered sinful. But feasting and gaiety, the two essential elements of all festivals, recur often and often." And there are innumerable such festivals in the year. We will quote one passage on this point. "It is described to be "a day of great and universal rejoicing—when the ties of friendship are drawn closer, when offences are condoned and pardoned, when every heart is filled with gladness, when music is heard in every street, and when every table is loaded with good cheer." The day begins with a special religious service, either in private residences, or at the fire temples. It does not, however, take up much time, and is followed by visits to relatives, patrons, and friends for the exchange of new year's greetings, and taking each other by the hand, a ceremony of much consequence, and known by the name of *Hammajor* or "joining of hands." Exchange of presents, alms to the poor, and new clothes to the servants follow and the rest of the day is spent in feasting, music, singing and merriment. Correctly the name of this festival should be *Nauroz*, or 'new day', but by some confusion or other this name is now given to the last day of the year, and the first is called *Pateti* from the Zend *Poittita*, "repentance" which was an expiation for the sin of the year—a sort of closing of the religious ledger, making up all untoward balances by charity." The Parsi girl is described by the learned lecturer as a charming little being whose very mien and air please the stranger. The character of their women according to Dr. Mittra is also of unimpeachable purity. They may be seen by scores "eating air" on the strand along that magnificent sheet of water, the Back Bay,

mostly walking, some in their chariots or broughams, or travelling in railway carriages, or taking a constitutional of a morning. "Fair and beautiful by nature, and arrayed in their rich coloured silken garb, the trip on the trottoir with charming ease and grace. On more than one occasion I saw a lady taking a walk at 8 o'clock in moonlight, without a chaperon, her brougham following her at some distance. Receiving and returning visits are very common among Parsi ladies, and the time usually selected is the afternoon. Tea and cakes are often offered on such occasions."

In conclusion we must remark that Dr. Mittra's lecture is an able and interesting one, but it is not a critical one; he finds only one fault with the Parsis and that is their superstition, and even that is put forward with such an adroitness that we are almost inclined to think it a quality. We have ourselves observed in the Parsis many elements that are excellent, many characteristics which please the eye and delight the heart. However, as we have remarked before, the lecture is a very able and interesting one, although not a critical one. We have ourselves read it with pleasure and we recommend it strongly to our readers for perusal.

15 July 1880

THE OPIUM TRADE

THE discussion on the opium trade raised by Mr. Pease in the House of Commons on the 14th ultimo, clearly shows that the revenue which India derives from the sale of the duty to China stinks in the nostrils of a section of the British public. These men would look at the opium traffic purely from the moral point of view. They cannot even bear the idea of being suspected of judging this question on the low standard of finance. The opium question has two aspects—one moral, other financial. Mr. Pease confined himself to the moral aspect of the question, and laid down that its financial

difficulties must yield to its moral difficulties. He said :—

"The net revenue derived from this source had risen from £ 138,000 in the year 1834-5 to £ 250,000 in the current year, and it was a fact that the East Indian revenue was becoming more and more dependent upon the opium revenue ; in other words, upon poisoning the Chinese. (Hear, hear.) He declined to judge our transactions with the Chinese in reference to this matter by the low standard of the financial wants of the East Indian Government. As a Christian nation they must deal with such a question on certain laws laid down by that Gospel in which almost every one in the country believed, by the high moral law, and by the international law which was observed among civilised nations. Taking this view, he was prepared to maintain that this country had violated all the principles which he had laid down. Taking the last point first, it was matter of history that the first and second wars in which he had been engaged with China arose out of the steps taken by the Government of that country to prevent the import of opium—steps which they were perfectly entitled to take, not only in accordance with international, but with moral law. At the close of the war we sent out Lord Elgin to China, and he made a treaty in which he insisted on opium being received as an article of traffic, and thus China was forced to take that which she had formerly prohibited."

Mr. Pease admitted the impossibility in the present critical condition of Indian finance, of abolishing the opium trade. But he asked the Secretary of State for India to give his best consideration to the question ; and he thought that had the Indian Government avoided unnecessary and expensive wars and reduced expenditure, the Indian Exchequer might soon be in a position to bear the loss of the seven-and-a-half millions now derived from opium.

Mr. Pease was followed by Mr. M. Stewart, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Alderman Fowler, Sir C. Dilke and Mr. Richard. Mr. M. Stewart supported the views of Mr. Pease. He argued that opium could not be put in the same category with ardent spirits, because, though both did produce intoxication,

nobody took spirits for the purpose of becoming intoxicated, whereas that was the sole intention in taking opium. We do not know what authority Mr. Stewart had for the astounding assertion, that nobody took spirits for the purpose of becoming intoxicated. So far as we are in a position to judge, there is not much difference between opium and ardent spirits. Both produce incalculable mischiefs ; and the taste for both in the consumer increases with careful rapidity. Sir George Campbell objected to the Indian opium revenue, not because it was immoral to force the drug upon the Chinese, but because the revenue was precarious. Our ex-Lieutenant-Governor rightly pointed out that if the British Government prohibited the cultivation of opium of India, the effect would be to extend its cultivation in other countries. Mr. Alderman Fowler said that India had a large revenue "by pandering to the depraved taste of a foreign people", and that "the worst was that we had produced that taste in the foreign nation." We think the latter part of Mr. Alderman Fowler's indictment cannot be sustained.

The question raised is one of very great practical importance to the people of India. We cannot spare the seven millions and a half yielded by opium : and if the cultivation of the drug be prohibited there is no knowing how the deficit caused thereby is to be made good. The subject, therefore, cannot be dealt with in a Quixotic spirit. We should calmly and dispassionately consider the results that will follow from the abolition of the opium trade. In the first place, the suppression of the opium trade will necessarily lead to the revival of the contraband traffic which previously existed and produced incalculable evils. Lord Hartington makes the following sensible observations on this point in answer to Mr. Pease :—

"My hon. friend contends that we ought not to prevent China from prohibiting the opium trade, and I will not follow him in a retrospect of the history of our China war and of our treaties with China. I am willing, however to concede to him that some of those wars and part of our transactions with that country may not have been strictly defensible ; but

when he tells us that we ought to surrender the advantages extorted by the Tientsin Treaty, and to allow China to return to the policy of prohibition, I must remind him that that policy was tried for many years with results satisfactory neither to China nor to ourselves. (Hear.) From the beginning of the century to the year 1860 that policy prevailed, and I ask my hon. friend and the House, with what results? There were an enormous illicit trade, accompanied by the demoralization and degradation of all concerned in it—the demoralization of the merchants engaged in it, of the sailors, of the Chinese officials, and in short, of every one connected with that trade. (Hear, hear.) It further resulted in conflicts between the Chinese and the merchants who embarked in that illicit trade, and who I am sorry to say, were mostly men of our own nation. These conflicts led to diplomatic quarrels, which usually ended in war. What is there to show that a return to prohibiton now would not again be followed by the same state of things? And does my hon. friend think that any such policy can be effectually prohibitive and that the prevention of smuggling is possible? I hold that it is not likely to be absolutely suppressed, and that it will produce all the injurious consequences of which we have had more than enough experience in former times. It is far better, if the trade must continue, that it should be conducted under recognized regulations and under proper control, and that it should be so managed as to be made to furnish a revenue not only to the Indian, but also to the Chinese Government. My hon. friend referred to the Chefoo Convention and the right of the Chinese Government to levy a duty. It appears to him to be an unwarrantable interference with the right of any nation to attempt to lay down the exact amount of duty it may levy. My hon. friend the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs has explained the position in which the negotiations with reference to that convention now are. I admit that there has been great delay in the ratification of the third article, to which my hon. friend has referred. The Government of India have not refused the ratification of the article, and are

willing to concede to the Chinese Government some re-adjustment of the import duties ; but we have a right to contend that the re-adjustment should be on some fair and uniform principle. If it is reasonable for us to protest as vigorously as we can against a return to the policy of prohibition, we may protest, with equal logic, against anything in the shape of a prohibitive duty. (Hear, hear.) Such a duty, I am confident, would have the same effect as a prohibitive policy, and would encourage that illicit trade from which so many evils have always resulted. But it is said that the effects of the opium trade are so demoralizing that we ought to assist China in resisting it by prohibiting the exportation of opium from India."

We think this is a correct view of the case. When there is demand there must be supply. So long as the Chinaman takes opium, the drug will be supplied to him. Mr. Gladstone is quite right in holding that it was wiser on the part of the Government of China to legalize the importation of the drug than to have the contraband trade, such as previously existed, carried on. Lord Hartington thus discusses the financial aspects of the question :—

"From the very slight and inadequate examination I have been able to give to this question, it is not my intention on this occasion to assent to any resolution, or to say anything which would have any tendency to disturb, to endanger, or even to diminish so important a branch of Indian revenue as that derived from the opium trade. This is not a time at which we can afford to temper with any branch of the Indian revenue. (Hear, hear.) The House has before it within a very few days statements showing the unexpected and very serious cost of the war which has been waged, and which I am sorry to say, is still continuing—a war entered into in the supposed interests of the people of India, and the cost of which is at present altogether uncertain. At such a time as this it is not desirable to ask the House to express an opinion which might have the effect of diminishing prospectively the amount of any source of revenue that the Indian Government at present enjoys. (Hear, hear.) But, whether the subject is

brought on at this time or at any other, I must make some protest against the invitation addressed by my hon. friend and some of his supporters to the House to consider this question entirely from the point of view of the dictates of morality as they are entertained by some members of this House, and to altogether neglect the subject as it relates to India and Indian policy. (Hear.) My hon. friend says he should be sorry to be suspected of judging this question on the low standard of Indian finance. But it is a question of Indian finance. (Hear, here.) Among all the eloquent declamations on this subject I have not yet heard any suggestion that any but the Indian Government and the Indian people should bear any loss the Indian revenue may sustain from the cessation of this tax. (Hear, hear.) No one has suggested that, in deference to our moral feeling, we are to recoup the Indian Government for the loss it would sustain, of course I do not mean to say that we, being charged with the government of the great empire of India can discard the dictates of morality but, on the other hand, I say we must consider this question as an Indian question, and not to be led away solely by those feelings of morality in which we might justly indulge if we were dealing with our own interest, and not with the interests of the millions of India. Morality of this kind is extremely cheap, and we should perhaps hear less of the immorality of this traffic and of the expediency of putting an end to it, immediately or prospectively if these speeches had to be accompanied with a demand made on the English tax-payer for the £ 6,000,000 or £ 7,000,000 or some part of it, which it is proposed so lightly that India should surrender. (Cheer.) It is acknowledged by my hon. friend that the Indian Government cannot now dispense with that revenue, but he says, "Avoid unnecessary and expensive wars and reduce expenditure, and the Indian revenue may soon be in a position to bear the loss of revenue." I entirely agree with my hon. friend that we ought, in the interests of India, to avoid unnecessary wars, I think, too, it is possible to effect some considerable reduction in the ordinary expendi-

ture of India. I cannot say I am very hopeful of making at present a large reduction in the ordinary Indian expenditure, and, even this were done, I cannot concede to my hon. friend that the abandonment of this source of income would be the first thing to follow an improved condition of Indian finance. Is my hon. friend perfectly sure, looking at the question from an Indian point of view, that there are no taxes which weigh upon the people of India and which it is our duty to get rid of and remit before we surrender any source of income which does not so oppress and retard the development of the country? Is he quite sure that there are no profitable and necessary modes of investing capital for which this revenue might find means, but which we cannot undertake if we are to abandon a source of income which whether it be objectionable or not, is at any rate not drawn from the pockets of our Indian subjects?"

The opium question must be considered in reference to the financial condition of India. And we think that Mr. Pease and his supporters should not carp at the Indian opium revenue, so long as the English Government raised a revenue of 26 millions sterling from the liquor traffic. Mr. Fawcett, in the course of the discussion in the House of Commons, said :—

"Much had been said about the immorality of the trade, but he never could see much difference between raising revenue from opium and raising 26 millions, as we did in this country to a great extent, out of the intemperance, improvidence and vice of the people. ("No, No.") What was the difference? He was opposer to much of what was proposed as temperance legislation, but he was as much a friend of temperance as any one could be and had no hesitation in saying that both in Ireland and in slums of Glasgow he could find scenes of misery produced by that drink out of which we raised revenue quite as humiliating as any you could find in China produced by the use of opium."

This is perfectly true. Mr. Pease and his friends have no right to protest against the opium trade, so long as British

liquor traffic exists. Mr. Gladstone remarks, "It would be very high level of morality indeed, a point of view, if we were prepared, on behalf of constituents, to put 3d. or 4d., on the income-tax and assume the payment of the seven millions. That would be taking our stand on a high level of morality." Let the British public act upon Mr. Gladstone's suggestion ; and India will then be only too glad to surrender the revenue she now derives from the sale of opium to the Chinese people.

15 July 1880

HINDOO WIDOWS

THE condition of Indian women generally is miserable enough, but the lot of Hindoo widows is sadder still. The subject is one which should engage the attention of every friend of Indian progress. As soon as an Indian woman loses her husband, she loses every thing for which she would long to live. If she is the mother of any child or children, her life is endurable, but if she happens to be childless, her existence becomes simply intolerable. She lives as a burden on her relations. She is simply a non-entity in her own family, and has to subject herself to rites and ceremonies which remind her every day of her sad lot. Her feelings there is none to consult, her conveniences and inconveniences there is none to mind or care for ; all the charms and attractions of life seem for ever to be lost to her. She lives by sufferance, and has patiently and resignedly to submit to the whims and caprices of her relatives upon whom she has to depend for even the barest necessities of life. Fortunately for this country, the necessaries of a widow are very few, otherwise, we doubt very much, whether her existence would have been at all tolerated. Thanks also to Hindoo charity and benevolence, these widows have not, generally speaking, to go to other people to beg for their food and raiment ; but still their lot seems to

us to be a very hard one indeed. Those among them—and they form the majority who, despite all the withering influences of adverse circumstances, and social prohibitions, lead a pious and a contended life, deserve the highest encomium for their disinterestedness and self-sacrifice, and are fit to be held up as patterns of those virtues even before their civilised sisters. The exemplary patience with which they bear their grievous lot, the alacrity with which they make self-sacrifices and suffer privations, the gladness with which they respond to the calls of duty, the assiduous attention with which they discharge the household duties, the almost angelic tenderness with which they tend the sick, and minister to the innumerable little wants of the whole family—are virtues for which they may challenge the admiration of the whole world. In these and other womanly virtues they yield to none of their civilised sisters. But all these qualities add nothing to their position in families, or in society. They are always looked upon as so many unwelcome appendages to a family. There was a time when they looked upon their hard lot as inevitable, and so they were happy and contented. We wish times had not changed at all for these poor and helpless widows. "Ignorance is bliss where it is folly to be wise." In a country where there are no means of satisfying the legitimate wants and aspirations of an increasing class of persons like the Hindoo widows, we think it were far better that their eyes were not opened—that higher and loftier hopes and aspirations of being serviceable to the country—to humanity at large—had not been created—that the light of education had not entered the dark chambers of their ignorant mind, and that the leaving influences of western civilization had not touched them at all. Education and civilization have their dark as well as brilliant sides. They bring on joys as well as sorrows. They do not produce unmixed good. And how have these two influences worked upon Hindoo widows? They have removed the blind from their eyes—that blind which served to keep them ignorant of their real sphere in life—and which therefore kept them

happy and contented with their lot. They have been made acquainted with the history of members of their own sex in civilised countries—they read how useful some of them have been to their country, and they now aspire to the position which is legitimately theirs in other and more civilised countries. They feel that free as they are now from duties to their husbands and children which would have kept them bound hand and foot to the family hearth, they should now be doing something for discharging their duties to their fellow-creatures and to their country. They are growing discontented with the uninteresting drudgery of mere household duties, which, situated as they are, husbandless and childless, have no charms for them. Finding that those upon whom they have to depend are not prepared to put them in the way of realising these hopes and aspirations—that they are not even cared for, but in some instances, are maltreated, they try to cut away from their relations in order to breathe the air of freedom. This is the actual condition of the younger class of Hindoo widows. The problem which we have to solve is how best may these widows be helped to obtain their object. That object is not marriage with majority of them, although for want of a better machinery for educating them in useful work, many of them are obliged to re-marry. In overcoming the cravings of flesh and blood, Hindoo widows stand to none. There are useful works which Hindoo widows may take to, with great advantage to themselves and to the country. They may be trained as teachers for Girls' schools and for private families. They may become mid-wives, compositors, copyists, clerks. They may be taught to ply their needle skilfully in plain sewing, they may be trained in music to supply a great demand that exists for female teachers of music. They may be taught a hundred other different things to earn their livelihood honestly and to become useful members of Society. But there must be, preliminary to all this, a safe place where these widows, who want to spend their time more usefully than they now do at home, may resort to—where they may find a home and protection from the cruel treatment of their relatives,—home where

their honor, their character and their reputation will be held sacred and be respected and prized. We would therefore suggest the institution of a "Home for Hindoo Widows", where they may seek such protection. We would place them under the care of a motherly lady to look after them, and we would employ female teachers to educate them in such arts which will pay for their maintenance and support. This movement may be quite unsectarian. For the sake of a good thing, we would not interfere with the religious and social prejudices of the widows who may seek shelter in this Home against their wishes, or the wishes of their guardians. We would allow them full liberty to act up to their religious persuasions, and follow their individual social customs. It is practicable, we say, to maintain an institution on the principle of non-interference with their cherished convictions. But then comes the most difficult question—where are the funds to come from? Unfortunately in this country, whenever a grand project is started, the question of funds always staggers us; but there is no obstacle which is insurmountable. We want the co-operation of all our educated countrymen. It is a matter in which our Christian friends may also assist us. To our countrymen we say, "Put your shoulders to the wheel and you will succeed." To our Christian friends, both here and in England, ladies as well as gentlemen, we say, "If your hearts be touched by the miseries of your widowed sisters in India, unstring your purses and take them up by their hands. Nothing is more Christian than assisting the poor and helpless widows of the East."

22 July 1880

THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMICAL CONDITION OF INDIA

MR. HYNDMAN has again come forward in the columns of the *Nineteenth Century* to speak a few words about India.

Our readers were aware that this gentleman has, by his contributions to the *Nineteenth Century* from time to time, done India a great service, by drawing the attention of the British public to her financial and economical condition. Mr. Hyndman seems to have studied the subject more carefully than most people writing on the subject seem to have done, and his writings always command the sympathy of the Indian public. The higher stand-point, from which Mr. Hyndman looks upon the relation of England with India, seems to be beyond the comprehension of the Anglo-Indians residing in England, and not unusually excites their wrath and indignation. Even in this article, Mr. Hyndman has given sufficient evidence of his hearty sympathy with the people of India. He says :—

"We need, it seems, a continuous succession of sensational events to keep the minds of Englishmen fixed upon a subject where we all incur day by day the heaviest responsibility. For, the good Government and improvement of India form the duty and concern, not of official alone, but of every man who can see wherein lies the true greatness of an empire. To raise the people of India to higher level by steady help given to their better Native customs ; to increase their wealth by reducing the cost of administration and a cautious suggestion of improvements in their agriculture and their industries ; to educate them in the widest sense, so that, in due time they may be able to administer their own country with but little supervision from us—these are aims and objects which surely claim from us more than the fitful attention which they at present receive—ought, rather to rouse the energies and quicken the imagination of all. We have no right to look at the bright side of what has been done, and shut our eyes to the stupendous dangers ahead of us.

"An able official not long since recounted what has been done by our efforts—efforts well paid for by the people, it is true, but none the less honourable on that account—and not the most disaffected Native could deny that in the perfect religious liberty, peace and protection, the suppression of organised gangs of robbers and stranglers, the safety of

women, the freedom of internal trade, the security of lands and goods, and in some districts the improvement of communication, we have conferred great benefits upon India. These are results of our efforts which we may well look upon with satisfaction, and may reasonably hope, will long produce a good effect. But with the single exception of the last, they were each and all carried out by the East India Company, and are due to the men of the last generation. Let them, then, be credited with these good deeds, not the men of to-day. Our present official work with equal zeal and equal earnestness—I do not dispute it for a moment—but they do so over a great part of India under conditions, where it is impossible that they should succeed. The perfection of our civil administration, the exquisite beauty of our system of minute-writing and elaborate checks, even the unquestionable uprightness of the whole official class, carry but could comfort to a starving people.”

There are only few Englishmen who look upon England’s possessions of India from this lofty Christian stand-point. To most of them, the idea of governing India for India’s sake—for educating her people so that they may “administer their own country”, in the words of Mr. Hyndman, seems to be visionary and chimerical, but there are, it is some consolation to find, a few very few indeed though they may be of John Bright’s school who think, as Mr. Hyndman thinks, of the duties of England towards India.

Let us now see what Mr. Hyndman says about our loyalty, which seems to have been very much questioned by the Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act. “Under our direct rule”, says Mr. Hyndman :—“we have fewer than two hundred million of people and there are besides fifty millions more in Native States who are indirectly controlled by us. Yet all this vast mass of human being is kept in order by an army of 60,000 Europeans and 120,000 Natives exclusive of the Native police. It is impossible to put the naturally peaceful character of the people in a more striking way. There have probably never been more than 300,000 Europeans in the country at any

one time ; and yet since we have been in possession, the only serious rising has been that of our own troops. Notwithstanding, too, the death by starvation of millions, there has been no really dangerous outbreak among the numerous races we govern. Any other society would have broken up under such a strain as that to which some districts in India were exposed. But the fierce fighting men of the North-West have so far been as patient in trial as the milder populations of Madras and Bengal. This says much for them, and much also for their belief that in spite of many draw-backs, we mean to rule honestly and well. The fate of the dacoity leader, Wassudeo Bulwant Phadke, affords clear evidence that the population is now as ever ready to side with authority, even where they think themselves oppressed, otherwise he had every thing in his favour. The Deccan has suffered much from usurers and from famine. Wassudeo's bold raids appealed to the old Mahratta predatory instinct. He and his followers might, at least enable the hopelessly invoided to recover their ancestral lands of which they consider they have been unjustly deprived. Nevertheless, they showed but little sympathy with the murderers ; the leader was consequently captured, and his band dispersed. In spite of grievous mismanagement, Rumba disturbances in Madras, brought about likewise by our own neglect, will duel down without any assistance from the outside. Still, therefore, the often-repeated remark remains true, that so long as the agricultural classes are well affected, we shall have no great difficulty in keeping our hold upon the country. It is an absolute necessity, therefore, to take the very best view, that any germs of serious discontent should be taken account of and fairly dealt with."

12 August 1880

MAHOMEDAN EDUCATION IN BENGAL

THE Mahomedan community in particular, and the whole of native community in general, ought to be very much indebted to Moulvi Syud Amir Hossein for his short but effective pamphlet on "Mahomedan Education in Bengal",—a copy of which lies on our table. The Moulvi is not perhaps so well-known to our readers as many of his vociferous co-religionists, whom the Government of the day has delighted to honor—but that does not, and ought not to detract from the merit of one who has been silently and unostentatiously, and at the same time boldly, working for the good of his own community. But perhaps we are digressing from the pamphlet to the pamphleteer. The subject is pregnant with the good or evil of a considerable portion of our fellow-citizens, and the way in which the subject has been treated in the pamphlet before us, shows clearly that the Syud has devoted his time and attention to it, and not written with the mere object of securing notoriety amongst his co-religionists.

It is a lamentable fact that notwithstanding the greatest efforts of successive Governments to infuse into the Mahomedan community the light and life of Western education and civilization, the efforts have been only partially successful. The number of educated Mahomedans in the higher ranks of the Government service is notoriously small, and if it were necessary to demonstrate the fact, we think that the author has done so successfully by appending to P. 26 of his pamphlet the following extract from the Bengal Civil Service list corrected up to 1st April 1880 :—

DESIGNATION OF OFFICE WITH PAY	Number of Hindu Incumbents	Number of Mahomedan Incumbents
Additional Judgeship and Civil Service under the Law of Parliament of 1870	...	4
Sub-Judges of 1st Grade at Rs. 1,000 per mensem	...	1

DESIGNATION OF OFFICE WITH PAY		Number of Hindu Incumbents	Number of Mahomedan Incumbents
Sub-Judges of 2nd Grade at Rs. 800	...	10	—
Sub-Judges of 3rd Grade at Rs. 700	...	8	1
Sub-Judges of 4th Grade at Rs. 600	...	14	1
Munsiffs of 1st Grade at Rs. 400	...	26	4
Munsiffs of 2nd Grade at Rs. 300	...	68	8
Munsiffs of 3rd Grade at Rs. 250	...	74	8
Munsiffs of 4th Grade at Rs. 200	...	38	—
Deputy Magistrate and Collector of 1st Grade at Rs. 800		—	1
-Do- of 2nd „ „ „ 700		4	—
-Do- of 3rd „ „ „ 600		9	2
-Do- of 4th „ „ „ 500		22	6
-Do- of 5th „ „ „ 400		30	3
-Do- of 6th „ „ „ 300		41	3
-Do- of 7th „ „ „ 200		60	11
-Do- of 8th „ „ „ 150		24	6
Special Sub-Registrars	...	15	3
Total	...	451	58

How is this stubborn fact to be explained? Not by the indifference of Government to the reasonable demands of the Mahomedan community to a fair and legitimate share in the offices of the State, but as the Moulvi very properly puts it:—"The real causes of this unhappy state of things is to be found in the backwardness of the Mahomedans in conforming themselves to the requirements of the times and thus remaining behind in the race of competition with other nations."

The whole subject has been divided by the author into three parts. 1. A short outline of the discussions and agitations which culminated in the policy adopted by Government in 1873-74. 2. Working of the several Madrassahs since their rehabilitation in the year and whether it has been to the benefit of the Mahomedans. 3. What reforms are needed to secure the desired ends. We will not trouble our readers with a detailed exposition of the first. It is sufficient for them to know that the funds which the Lieutenant-Governor has at his disposal specially for Mahomedan education are as follows :— Grant to Calcutta Madrassah and its attached school 38,000 ; Mahomed Mohsin's educational endowment 55,000. Total Rs. 93,000 ; and these funds were in 1873-74 allotted as follows :—

Calcutta	...	...	...	35,000
Hooghly Madrassah	...	...	...	7,000
Cost of establishing a new Madrassah at Dacca	...	...	...	10,000
Do. at Chittagong and Akyab	...	...	...	14,000
Various further expenses including scholarships				11,800
Grants to nine Zillah Schools, <i>viz.</i> , Jessore, Rajpore, Bogra, Pubna, Furridpore, Backergunge, Mymensingh, Tipperah and Noakhally	...	...	...	7,200
Assignment to meet the cost of paying 2/3 fees of Madrassah boys who may attend the Presidency, Hooghly or Dacca Colleges, Collegiate Schools or at the Rajshaye or Chittagong Schools of Low Classes	...	...	...	8,000
				93,000

In the second part of his pamphlet, our author gives a very careful but short analysis of the working of the several institutions which were established in 1873-74, including the old institutions at Calcutta and Hooghly. The result is expressed in these words :—“From the statistics supplied by the educational reports, there is hardly any room for questioning that the Hooghly, Chittagong and the Rajshaye Madrassahs have proved failures, the first a total, and the second and third, a partial failure. It would be simply a waste of money to

continue these institutions on their present scale." We shall only add that the figures quoted by the author, fully warrant the conclusion.

The third portion of the pamphlet is no doubt the most material; and, after carefully going through the several proposals made by the Moulvi, we think that if they are, as he assures us at the end of his pamphlet, to be "the outcome of the present feeling of Mahomedans on the subject of further improvement of the scheme of the Mahomedan education, so that their co-religionists may have a better opportunity than they at present have of recovering the lost ground. &c.", they deserve the serious consideration of the educational authorities, and ought not to be treated with scant courtesy.

These proposals are :—

I would propose the establishment of an English College teaching up to the B. A. degree in the Mahomedan quarter of Calcutta, for the benefit of a daily growing class of Musulman students. The Presidency College is no doubt a Government institution, and Mahomedan students are at liberty to join it, but it is situated in a quarter essentially Hindu, and is so far removed from the Mahomedan quarter, that none but rich Mahomedan students who can afford to pay about Rs. 20 for conveyance, can avail themselves of the benefits of that institution. I think if the proposed Mahomedan English College be established, the additional charge can be easily met by transferring to it the assignments now made to certain colleges from the Mohsin Fund for Mahomedan students who may study therein, as also by the large savings which would be effected by reducing the existing establishments of the Chittagong, Rajshaye and Hooghly Madrassahs as proposed in the preceding paragraph.

As far I understand, there is a general cry on the part of Mahomedan students who pass their matriculation examination in Calcutta and Moffussil schools for a Mahomedan College of the kind ; and if the Anglo-Mahomedan College at Aligarh, with its limited income of 22,000 Rupees a year can afford to maintain higher classes teaching up to the F. A. standard,

with a European Principal, Bengal with its 93,000 Rupees devoted exclusively to Mahomedan education can rightfully claim to have a Mahomedan English College at the seat of Government. Roughly speaking, a sum between 50,000 and 60,000 out of the 93,000, would cover the cost of maintenance of the proposed College. The remaining sum would be ample to meet the educational requirements of the Moffussil. No expense need be incurred for making any new building for the proposed Mahomedan English College, as I think it can with certain arrangements, be accommodated in the existing Calcutta Madrassah building. To make accommodation for the proposed College classes, I would propose that the lower classes of the Calcutta Madrassah up to the Fourth class should be altogether transferred to the Colinga Branch School, which should be converted into a Middle Class English School and be called the "Calcutta Madrassah Lower Department." I do not hesitate to propose this amalgamation of the Lower Department of the Calcutta Madrassah with the Branch School, in as much as the original object for which a separate Branch School was established, namely, to keep apart boys of lower status from those of respectable classes, has altogether vanished, and the practice of admitting into the Madrassah only the sons of respectable persons have for many years past been totally discontinued.

I would propose better and more decent provision for the boarding establishment of Mahomedan students in Calcutta. At present in the Calcutta Madrassah certain students are called "boarders"; but I submit it is a total misapplication of the term to call them so. I am told that the Madrassah authorities never regulate or give a thought to the messing arrangements of the so-called boarders, each of whom has to make his own arrangement for his boarding; some get their food brought from outside every morning and evening, and others go outside the Madrassah precincts to have their daily meals. I think measures should be adopted to save the students from the trouble of making their own messing arrangements and thus afford them greater ease of mind to attend

to their studies. For this purpose a boarding fee should be levied from these boarders as is done in the other Madrassahs and in the Anglo-Mahomedan College at Aligarh.

I would recast the curriculum now in vogue among the students of the Arabic Departments of the Madrasshas. At present their heads are too much crammed with grammars and verbal subtleties, and their intellectual energies uselessly absorbed by the niceties of the Aristotelian Logic and Philosophy. The Arabic students are generally remarkable for a want of accuracy, precision and order, and to remedy this defect in their character, Mathematics should be made compulsory in the system of their education. And to counteract their narrow and discarded ideas of men and things they should be taught the truths of Chemistry, Physics, &c., but instruction in these subjects should be imparted through Urdu. At present very few of such scientific primers exist in Urdu, but I am sure that if a demand were created for such books, they would be easily forthcoming.

But the greatest, and in my humble opinion, most important change that I would propose to be introduced into the Arabic Department, is that English literature at least should be made compulsory. A man must be sure of getting his daily bread before he can enjoy literature or science. Now, the students, who are turned out by the Arabic Departments, live in the majority of cases, in a way which is anything but respectable or comfortable. The late Earl of Mayo in framing his memorable Resolution avows that his object is to provide Mahomedans with "advantages both material and social." As a matter of fact such advantages cannot now-a-days be had without English education. The eyes of my countrymen are being gradually opend to this fact, and many Arabic students, who have become too old now to begin acquiring English anew, speak with regret of their not having learnt English betimes. I dare say that if Government made a move in this direction, it would in the long run succeed, though at first it might disturb the equanimity of a small section of my co-religionists.

The Principal and the teachers might be directed to pay some attention to the *morale* of the students. As a matter of fact the formation of their *character* is now totally neglected. The business of a teacher is not only to give *instruction*, but also *education* i.e., their duty is not merely to provide their pupils with literature and science, but to instil into their young and susceptible hearts principles of morality. For this purpose I would have for Principal a man who can live in the institution and who can devote his time to looking after his youthful charges, and a man who, to quote Sir George Campbell's words setting forth the qualification of a Principal, "is fitted to lead, to influence and to discipline youth."

These proposals have this further recommendation that they do not "involve the outlay of a single rupee from the public exchequer, but merely are re-distributions and re-adjustments of the large sum of Rs. 93,000 already endowed and set apart for Mahomedan education,"—and as such, we commend them to the consideration of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor or the Director of Public Instruction.

We would close this brief notice with one word of advice to the author. Let him try to have his scheme backed by a memorial from as many of his co-religionists as fully sympathize with his views, and, we have no doubt, the project will have a very fair chance of success.

2 September 1880

EDUCATION AND EMANCIPATION OF HINDU WOMEN

THE Paper of Babu Badyanath Dutt read at the last meeting of the National Indian Association has raised a very important question for discussion. Varied and many were the comments offered upon the paper, but none of them appeared to us to solve the problem. The question that should engage our attention at the present time, is not what our women have been in the halcyon days of India when Hindu kings ruled—

when the ban of a conquered race was not upon us—when no foreigner ventured to insult the modesty of our women for fear of paying the penalty upon the gallows—when indigenous Arts, Literature and Sciences flourished to an extent which is being only *now* equalled in Europe and America—when the bracing atmosphere of freedom and liberty surrounded India, and filled her with a consciousness of her own great destiny. It is not at all strange that under such conditions, our women should have received education of the highest order, and openly breathed the air of freedom. But the most important question is, *now*, when those conditions have altered, when India is no longer free—when the demoralising influences of years of Mahomedan conquest have driven our women within the four walls of the Zenana, and shut them out from the external influence of a new civilisation which is rapidly spreading around us—when our men have lost that chivalrous spirit which marked them of yore, and which effectually guarded our women against wanton insults from ruffians of the harder sex—when social prejudices have grown upon us imperceptibly, which it is not easy for us to shake off, and the whole moral atmosphere has become trained and corrupted with the petrified exhalations of those prejudices—when our physical strength has so far deteriorated as not to be able to afford ample protection to our women against insults from persons of superior physical force—the question, we repeat, is now, how are our women to be educated, emancipated and raised to their former position? Any speculation about what their position once was, would not help us much, except in demonstrating that they are capable of filling important position in society. We must form our plans, devise our schemes, and mature our programme of regeneration, according to the altered circumstances in which we are now placed. The difficulties in our way have been multiplied a thousand-fold by these altered circumstances. We must advance cautiously, it is true, but *advance* we must. It won't do for us to be over-cautious, for then we presume we cannot *advance*. If we have to wait till our young men become

regenerated, as it were, and our men improve in their moral character, we shall have to wait too long. We might as well say, we won't get into water before we learn to swim. Our firm conviction is, that education and emancipation of our women must go hand-in-hand, the one being greatly dependant upon the other. We think our women are likely in a great measure to improve the character and raise the moral tone of our society. However depraved and sunk in corruption a boy or a man may be, the consciousness that he is in the presence of a chaste and virtuous woman, however ignorant she may be, cannot but have the effect of appalling him and coercing him, as it were, into decent behaviour. Innocence has a charm which even the most depraved cannot withstand. Why is it we ask, that all the vices and social iniquities that we hear our countrymen to practise, are practised in places far removed from their homes ? Because they dare not offend their mothers, sisters and wives, who, they know, are innocence personified. Look at the conduct of our young men in the presence of their female relations at home, or even in the houses of distant relatives, and of their conduct when removed from those influences. If our boys or men do not respect and honor women whom they find outside the walls of the Zenana, it is because there are few women of rank and position, who, according to the custom of the country, come out. To be seen outside the Zenana is, according to the rules of our society, a sign of the woman not being respectable. We cannot expect that with such nations in the hands of our men, they would respect a woman whom they see moving about. We fully believe that, when they will find that the breaking open the doors of the Zenana is not incompatible with the respectability of our women, they will grow more decent in their behavior, and the whole tone of our society will improve. How many useful sources of information are actually shut out from our women by not bringing them out of the Zenana ! But on the other hand we must be greatly careful in the selection of the society, we allow our women to mix in. It won't do for us to imitate exactly European manners, and let

loose our women upon society, by giving them unlimited liberty to go wherever they please, and to mix with any person they like, in the present state of our society. We must recollect that the conditions of the two societies are different. We must be near them, and by them, to protect them from savage insults whether by our countrymen or foreigners. We do not at all agree with those who say, first educate and then emancipate your women. Education can never be complete without emancipation, and, as we said before, both must go hand-in-hand together. There is not the slightest doubt that, English women can assist us a great deal in bringing about this much desired state of things ; but we must do the work for ourselves, and not leave it to English women to do this for us. Let us first of all bring our women out in our own little family circle at home consisting of all the members, then take them out to friends and acquaintances whom we know intimately ; then take them to select society, and then gradually they will breathe the air of freedom ; and defy the wanton and insolent gaze of desolute men, who will feel aghast, and shrink with horror in their presence, and hide their faces in shame and disgrace.

9 September 1880

FEMALE CLERKS IN THE POST OFFICE
(*Spectator*)

MR. FAWCETT has just sanctioned certain changes in the rules under which ladies are appointed to Clerkships in the Post Office, and upon those changes some angry people are animadverting with amusing severity. In what these critics call "the Female Branch" of the Post Office, we may explain that the great principles of nomination and appointment by means of "interest", so dear to the Philistines of the Civil Service, found a last lurking-place. Mr. Fawcett has, however, determined to abandon that system of distributing the

patronage of the office. In doing so, he has evidently filled with worth that most worthy class of the community who firmly believe that the service of the State was created, not primarily for the purpose of doing work for the country, but rather for administering, in a genteel sort of way, a thinly-disguised form of outdoor relief to the sons and daughters of the upper and upper-middle classes. It was the first care of the late Government to treat tenderly the feelings of this section of the community, on all possible occasions. Indeed, had it not done so, the fight for power at the last General Election would, perhaps, not have been waged with such bitterness by those to whom the defeat of Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry meant the destruction of the quiet family-party system of Government, under which the Empire was to be exploited for the benefit of those select circles of society who were to condescend to manage its affairs. It was in strict accordance with the sentiments of those good people, that the "female clerkship" in the Post Office should be given only to women who were nominated by family interest for competition. The posts were to be reserved, in fact, for the daughters of gentlemen belonging to the Army, Navy, Civil Service, the Church, the Bar, or to the landed gentry,—ladies in fact, of birth of good social position, whose families, however, were not able to support them comfortably in elegant idleness. In the event of women of this rank not coming forward as competitors, then the appointments were to be reserved for the daughters of deserving dependants of the governing classes. Nay, the arrangement was notoriously only a tentative one. The scheme, according to plausible rumour, was to be gradually introduced from the Post Office into other public Departments, so that in the service of the State the old principle of appointment by nomination might have been slowly restored. If it was a good principle for the Post Office, obviously it would be impossible to resist its application to other Departments, now hopelessly contaminated by "open competition". Perhaps the most amusing thing about the matter was the reason alleged for thus cherishing the principle of nomination in the

Post Office. It was necessary, we were told, in the higher interests of the lady clerks, that they should not be exposed to evil associations ; and if open competition were the rule, persons of questionable character might get into the Service. Seldom has the great caste that stakes its existence on the maintenance of every form of "Privilege" displayed greater ingenuity in inventing a plausible excuse for its selfishness.

Moreover, there was just that grain of truth in the excuse that made it hard to expose its insincerity. Nobody could doubt that unless some searching examination into character we made, there might, through open competition, get into the Department as clerks young girls whose conduct and manners were alike objectionable. Such an examination into character placed upon the Authorities an invidious duty, extremely difficult to discharge. Still, it never occurred to the partisans of exclusiveness that there was another way of getting over the difficulty than that of resorting to the old system of patronage and nomination. Mr. Fawcett has already seen this way before him, and when he entered office, he therefore, very sensibly threw the female clerkships open to all competitors, subject to one restriction. Each woman who seeks to compete for an appointment must possess, as an essential qualification, a certificate showing that she has passed a public examination, such as the matriculation examination of the University of London, or we presume, the various University examinations for middle-class schools now held at different local centres all over England. By this simple plan the field of candidature will be effectively weeded, and the principle of open competition, on a clear stage and with no trace of favouritism tainting the result, will be maintained in its full integrity. The announcement of the change in the regulations has called forth, as we have said, good deal of hostile remonstrance, and the arguments of who opposed the plan may be easily summed up. We are assured that it is unjust to throw open the Post Office clerkships to women under the rank of the upper and upper-middle class, because a great many employment's

are already open to women of low birth. The answer would seem to be that the occupation are quite as available for women of high as of low birth. But against this it is urged that "young ladies" cannot be expected to take situations in great commercial retail establishments. One correspondent of the *Times* writes, "I think most mothers of the ladies for whom the female Post Office Savings Banks' clerkships were intended, would feel that there would be a little want of obedience to the unwritten law of society, if their daughters associated with them,"—that is, with the "assistants in great commercial retail firms." It is difficult to say whether we ought to laugh or be angry at the mixture of snobbery and stupidity that characterises this argument. If a woman is poor and wants work, so long as the work is honourable and of a sort that is fit for an educated or gently bred person she should not be ashamed to take it even from a "great commercial retail firm." But she should be too proud to quarter herself on the public purse, and eat bread paid, for from the taxes of the poor, unless she be better qualified than anybody else for a post in the service of the State. Then the cast of mind of the admirers of patronage is prettily illustrated by the phrase in this correspondent's letter,—"ladies for whom the female Post Office Savings Banks' clerkships were intended." Is it possible that at this time of day any person can seriously believe that appointments in the Civil Service are "intended" for any class, or that they are created for the relief of genteel poverty, or that they are meant for any other purpose than rendering service to the public? If they be meant for this, then on what other principle can we proceed to fill them, except on that of getting the best qualified and cleverest people we can to do the work attached to them? If that be the case, what reason is there to suppose that outside the charmed circle of the daughters of "gentlemen belonging to the military and naval professions", or the "daughters of clergymen and lawyears", highly competent and clever clerks cannot possibly be found?

But the painful thing that the discussion suggests is that the education of women of the upper-middle class must be shockingly bad, otherwise it is not conceivable that they should thus shrink from competition with the daughters of small tradesmen. It almost suggests that in a fair competition for a Post Office clerkship, the boarding school shuns competition with the board school ; and if that be the case, we take it, Mr. Fawcett deserves gratitude, and not blame, for having drawn the attention of the upper classes to the fact. The truth is, that owing to the foolish prejudices of society, women of the upper-middle class are really brought up to think of working for a livelihood as a possible contingency of life. They dawdle over their education, which is flimsy at the best, and then when misfortune comes and they seek to "go out", as the phrase is, they are beaten in the race by young women of comparatively humble birth, whenever practical and solid educational tests are imposed. Of course it is a most grave and serious question what is to be done with such women, for whom, indeed, there is hardly any career in England open, unless it be that of a barmaid at a railway restaurant,—an impossible trade for any woman of refinement to engage in. But grave as is the problem, it is surely not to be solved by keeping the Civil Service as a close preserve for genteel paupers. Not if it were possible to solve it in that way, would be desirable to do so. The principle of Competitive Examination, besides giving us in a rough-and-ready way the means of selecting fittest, has, as one of its main advantages, this,—that it acts as a stimulant to education throughout the country. Once, then, it is made clear to women of the upper-middle class that they cannot get clerkships in the Post Office, and in other public offices, unless they are as fairly instructed as the daughters of persons of lowlier rank, they may be to make school life an earnest reality, and not an affair of elegant trifling. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as a calamity that Mr. Fawcett's new regulations will force or tend to force ladies schools to attain a higher standard of efficiency ; and it would have this effect, if it made it the

custom for each pupil to go up for one of the University local examinations, the certificate of passing which will henceforth be the passport to competitions for Civil Service clerkships. For our part, turning to the consideration of the broad question, we regret exceedingly that female clerks are not employed to a much great extent in the Civil Service, and indeed in all great mercantile establishments, than is the rule at present. There are hardly any department that could not find room for some of them, and as female labour is cheaper than that of men, the saving thus effected would be considerable.

Any extension of the area of female employment in a nation, where, we are told something like thirty per cent. of the women do not marry, cannot but have a good influence on the education of women throughout the country. It must tend to make them more self-reliant and self-dependent, and therefore more self-respecting,—a result that nobody deplores, except those who believe that women are most attractive from an aesthetic point of view, and most valuable to the commonwealth as citizenesses, when they are as nearly as possible like pretty babes. Of course, there are men who regard with something like horror any scheme the indirect effect of which might be to render celibacy easy for women. According to their theory, it is the duty of every woman to marry, and of society to starve her into matrimony, when she shows any signs of going through life in single blessedness. Most people have now, however, outlived the fascination of such teaching; and as the general belief in these days is that women should, as far as possible, be encouraged to be self-supporting, public opinion will not only favour the opening-up of the Civil Service to ladies, but the opening of it to all women of respectable character, without distinction of rank or class.

28 October 1880

EDITORIAL NOTES

I. The Origin and Growth of the Brahmo Samaj

To highlight the stages in the evolution of the Brahmo Samaj and Brahmoism in Bengal, we quote below some relevant excerpts from Sivanath Sastri's *History of the Brahmo Samaj* (Calcutta Reprint 1974).

Rammohun Roy and Brahmo Samaj

"There are two accounts current about the establishment of Brahmo Samaj. One is that, seeing the failure of his Unitarian Mission, Mr. Adam himself suggested it as a substitute ; the other is that one day while Rammohun Roy was returning home in his carriage from the service of Mr. Adam, his young disciples, Tarachand Chakravarti and Chandra Sekhar Deb, who were with him, complained of the necessity of attending a Unitarian place of worship, in the absence of one entirely suited to their views and principles. Rammohun Roy took this complaint to heart and forthwith proceeded to call a meeting of his friends, at which it was decided to open a place for the unsectarian worship of the One True God.¹ Many of his rich friends came forward to meet the expenses, and a house, ever since known in Brahmo history as the memorable Feringhee Kamal Bose's house, was rented to accommodate the first theistic congregation. Here on the 6th of Bhadra, corresponding to the 20th of August 1828, the first Samaj was opened with Tarachand Chakravarti as its Secretary.

"Meetings of the Samaj were held every Saturday evening and the following order of service was observed : two Telugu Brahmins used to recite the Vedas in a side-room, screened from the view of the congregation, where non-Brahmins would

¹ Regarding Rammohan Roy's other activities during this period, see editorial notes in *Selections*, vol. I.

not be admitted ; Utsavananda Vidyabagish would read texts of the Upanishads, which were afterwards explained in Bengali by Pandit Ram Chandra Vidyabagish ; thirdly, a sermon would be preached or read by Ram Chandra Vidyabagish, followed by the singing of Govinda Mala. Some of these sermons, several of which were written by Rammohun Roy ... are very interesting as giving some idea of the exact nature of the spiritual struggle that was then going on." (P. 25.)

"...within two years Rammohun Roy was enabled to raise sufficient funds for the purchase of a house on the Chitpore Road to be a permanent place of worship for the members of the Society. The purchase was effected before January, 1830. In the middle of that month, only six days before the public consecration of Rammohun Roy's church, Rammohun Roy's adversaries called a meeting of all the leading men of Calcutta and organised a rival association called *Dharma Sabha*, with Bhawanicharan Banerji, a learned Brahmin, as its President, and Radha Kanta Deb (subsequently knighted and made Raja) as its Secretary.

"Thus two influential factions arose in the Hindu society of Calcutta, the one led by Rammohun Roy, followed a number of rich families whose position and influence were unquestioned, and the other led by Radha Kanta Deb, the recognized leader of orthodox Hinduism, followed by an imposing array of big names." (P. 26.)

Debendranath Tagore and Adi Brahmo Samaj

"The body of worshippers who used to assemble week after week in the Church consecrated by Rammohun Roy, originally known as the Brahma Sabha, was latterly called the Calcutta Brahmo Samaj. This name it retained till the year 1866, the year of the first schism, after which it was changed, in 1868, into the Adi or Original Brahmo Samaj, to indicate its precedence in point of time to the younger branches....

"The two prominent figures that meet our eyes as struggling to keep up the infant Church during the period of depression that followed the death of Rammohun Roy in 1833, were

Dwarkanath Tagore and Pandit Ram Chandra Vidyabagish. Of these two, Dwarkanath Tagore was a man of the world, a man of vast social influence, and one who was associated with almost all the public movements of the day. The calls on his time and attention were varied and numerous; consequently it was but a small portion of either that he could devote to the affairs of the Church. But he lent the services of his own *dewan* to manage those affairs and also mainly bore the cost of keeping up the weekly service, contributing eighty rupees per month for that purpose. The internal management, as well as the conduct of the services of the new Church was left entirely in the hands of Pandit Ram Chandra Vidyabagish, the most faithful of the Raja's followers....

"In 1843, Devendranath Tagore formally joined the Brahmo Samaj, and in 1844 we find Ram Chandra Vidyabagish dying at Murshidabad on his way to Benares." (Pp. 52-53.)

"It was not long before the spiritual genius of the young Devendranath discovered the moribund condition into which the Church has fallen. In attending the services of the Samaj, he found, as he himself mentions in his autobiography, that the doctrine of Rama's incarnation was being preached from the pulpit by Pandit Iswar Chandra Nyayaratna, the assistant of Pandit Ram Chandra Vidyabagish, and also that the old rule of excluding non-Brahmins from a side-room where the Vedas were being chanted was being adhered to. As his first act of reform, Devendranath entered his earnest protest against these practices and put an effectual check upon them.

"But the decline of the Samaj was visible in other directions also. There was no fraternity of fellow-believers. Most of those who attended the services were idolators at home. There was no organisation, no constitution, no membership, no covenant, no pledge.... He proceeded to frame a covenant for the adoption of the Church and to introduce a regular form of Church service, including thanks-giving, praise and prayer, in the place of the old practice of mere expositions of passages from the Upanishads, attended with sermon and hymn....

"Having framed this covenant Devendranath influenced twenty of his youthful associates to join him in undergoing a formal ceremony initiation..."² (Pp. 27-58.)

"The period between 1850 and 1856 may be regarded as the transition period of old Brahmoism. With the renunciation of the doctrine of scriptural infallibility there arose a tendency amongst the younger members of the Samaj, headed by Akshay Kumar Datta, not only to broaden the basis of Brahmoism by advocating new social ideals, but also to apply the dry light of reason even to the fundamental articles of religious belief..."³ (P. 69.)

"On his return from the hills in 1858, Devendranath was exceedingly glad to find that a young man of genius and ability, belonging to another influential family of the town of Calcutta, of whom he had already heard, had joined the Samaj during his absence. This was Keshub Chunder Sen, the son of Peary Mohun Sen, Devendranath's former class-fellow in the Hindu College. Keshub was then in his twentieth year, having been born in 1838." (P. 72.)

Keshub Chunder Sen and the 'Brahmo Samaj of India'

"The year 1862 brought with it increase of strength to the younger party. On the 13th April and 1st of Baisakh according to B. E., Mr. Sen was elevated to the post of the *Acharya* or minister of the Samaj by Devendranath, who from this time began to be called the *Pradhan Acharya* or the chief minister.... On the appointed day after the usual divine service, Devendranath said : 'On this day by the command of Almighty God, I do appoint Keshub Chunder Sen, a minister of the Brahmo Samaj.' Then he presented to the latter a copy of the book called the *Brahmo Dharma*, with a formal appointment

² See note below on Debendranath's covenant and formal initiations with extracts from his *Autobiography* (English translation).—Ed,

³ It should be noted that Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, though not a Brahmo, helped and strengthened the hands of Akshay Kumar Dutta, in his effort to enlarge the basis of Brahmoism.—Ed.

letter conferring on him the title of *Brahmananda*—meaning one whose delight is in God....⁴ Some time after the installation of Mr. Sen as the Minister of the Church, he appointed him the Secretary and his friend Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar the Assistant Secretary of the Samaj and also entrusted the latter with the work of editing the *Tattwabodhini Patrika*, in the place of Pandit Ananda Chandra Vedantabagish....” (Pp. 88-92.)

In August 1864, “the advance section of Mr. Sen’s party took a daring step by celebrating another inter-marriage between persons of different castes.... This marriage furnished a fresh cause for difference between the old leader and the progressive party.... It was decided to dismiss the old thread-bearing assistant ministers and to engage in their place the services of threadless ones.... It brought matters to a crisis.... The hostile attitude assumed by the younger party made Devendranath come to the decision to remove them from all office and power in connection with the Samaj ; and the steps that he took in the direction of resuming the functions of the Samaj from them were : (1) as the sole Trustee of the Samaj he resumed the charge of all the affairs of the Samaj ; (2) he dismissed the old managing Council amongst whom there were some members of the younger party, and appointed a new Council consisting exclusively of older members ; (3) he appointed his eldest son Babu Dwijendranath Tagore and Pandit Ayodhyanath Pakrashi respectively as Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Samaj in the place of Mr. Sen and Mr. P. C. Mozoomdar ; (4) he took charge of the *Tattwabodhini Patrika* from the hands of the younger party, who nothing daunted by their loss of power started the *Dharmatattwa*, a monthly Bengali journal as their organ....” (Pp. 95-98.)

“Though no formal act of schisms had yet taken place, the year 1865 dawned upon a Church practically divided into two hostile camps, the conservatives and the progressives. The first was a party of elderly men who had joined the Samaj

⁴ The first inter-caste marriage was celebrated in 1862.—Ed.

since its first revival in 1843, and who in point of practices conformed to the rules of the old Hindu society. They had a peculiar attachment to the old time-honoured institutions of Hinduism, and were both to do anything that would lead to a violent disruption of the same....

"The temper of the younger party was quite different. Their ages ranged between eighteen and twenty-five. Many of them had been previously weaned from strictly Hindu ideas by a course of western education.... A broad spirit of catholicity had taken possession of their souls, which looked upon Hinduism or any other sectarian faith as too narrow for them.... Thus did the two parties stand towards each other at the commencement of the year 1865." (Pp. 99-101.)

"The necessity for a formal schism began to be discussed in the pages of the *Indian Mirror* from the middle of this year (1866—Ed). By that time many of the provincial samajes were prepared for such a course, and letters were received from 120 Brahmos, both men and women, in favour of such a proposal. A meeting was accordingly held on Sunday, the 11th November, in the house of the Calcutta College, on the Chitpore Road, when more than two hundred people assembled in spite of extremely bad weather, and the *Brahmo Samaj of India*⁵ was formally established." (P. 113.)

"The year 1867 opened with a trumpet call in the *Indian Mirror* headed 'Brahmos, Arise' and an earnest appeal for renewed zeal in carrying the banner of the new faith far and wide. The appeal was soon followed by the commencement of extensive mission operations.... From the beginning of August he (Mr. Sen) introduced the rule of holding daily divine service in his own house.... These devotional experiences opened up a new vista before Mr. Sen's mind. He began to reflect on the nature and tendencies of the *Vaishnava* modes of spiritual exercise...." (Pp. 134-37.)

"On the occasion of the anniversary of the Brahmo Samaj, which fell on the 24th January 1868, Mr. Sen laid the founda-

⁵ Bengali name is *Bharatbarshiya Brahmo Samaj*.—Ed.

tion stone of his *mandir*, now called the Tabernacle of the New Dispensation. On that day another Vaishnava mode of propagation, namely a singing procession through the streets, was also first introduced....⁶ It caused quite a sensation in Calcutta native society. The anti-Brahmo journals came down upon it, as an imitation of the contemptible Vaishnavas, and predicted the wreck of the whole movement in no distant time.” (Pp. 140-41.)

“In the beginning of 1870, Mr. Sen carried out a long cherished idea of his, namely that of visiting England.... He reached London on the 21st of March, stayed in England till the 17th of September, and returned to Calcutta on the 20th of October next ... the years 1871 and 1872 witnessed a deeply interesting agitation on another important subject. It was the passing of Act III of 1872.⁷ (Pp. 150-55.)

“In the autumn of 1877, in the midst of his ascetic professions and practices on the one hand, and of these proceedings of the reformatory party on the other, Mr. Sen startled his friends as well as his adversaries, by quite unexpectedly purchasing a large mansion, with a spacious compound, on the Circular Road of Calcutta, and by furnishing it in a rich style. This house he duly occupied, after a religious ceremony, on the 12th November, calling it since then the *Lily Cottage*.... Rev. Bhai P. C. Mozoomdar also built a house of his own near it and called it the *Peace Cottage*. The purchase of the spacious mansion was due as it came to be known afterwards, to the desire on the part of Mr. Sen to have a fitting abode for the reception of the Cooch Behar party, who wanted to come and see his daughter previous to her engagement.

“Soon after the consecration of the *Lily Cottage*, a rumour became current in Brahmo circle that a marriage between Mr. Sen’s eldest daughter, who was not then fourteen and accordingly had not attained the marriageable age

⁶ Which is *Brahmo Samkirtan*.—Ed.

⁷ Marriage Act of 1872.—Ed.

fixed by Act III of 1872, and the young Maharaja of Cooch Behar, who was not known as a Brahmo at the time and who was a minor and a lad of fifteen, was in contemplation ; and furthermore, that the marriage was to be celebrated according to non-Brahmo rites.” (P. 173.)

“These rumours naturally had a very great disquieting effect on the minds of Brahmos in Calcutta.... On the night of the 8th February (1878), a number of leading Brahmos, including old Shib Chandra Deb, a revered Brahmo leader, who had joined the Samaj in the early fifties, met together and sat solemnly and prayerfully deliberating till 2 o’clock in the morning, on the steps that were necessary for them to take in the presence of the grave danger that threatened the Church.” (Pp. 174-75.)

“When all efforts to get a meeting of the Brahmo Samaj of India called ultimately failed, the Brahmo Samaj Committee referred the question to the Mofussil Samajes. In reply to their query a large number of Samajes expressed their sense of the need of a separate organization and a letter signed by 425 Brahmos and Brahmikas was also received advocating the same course. Accordingly, a public meeting of Brahmos was held in the Town Hall, on the 15th May, 1878, and the *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj* was duly organized. Mr. A. M. Bose was appointed the first President ; Babus Shib Chandra Deb and Umesh Chandra Datta were respectively appointed Secretary and Assistant Secretary ; and a committee of 49 persons, many of whom were representatives of Provincial Samajes, were appointed....” (P. 184.)

Sadharan Brahmo Samaj

“Thus the *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj* was launched into existence with these three distinguished men as its leaders.... Of the two papers, the *Brahmo Public Opinion* and the *Somalochak*, started a few months back ... the former still continued to be the English organ of the new Samaj ; whereas the Bengali journal *Samalochak* was made over to a private member, the *Tattwa-kaumudi* coming in to fill up its place.

The expenses of the *Brahmo Public Opinion*, though it was an organ of the Samaj, were borne by Messrs. A. M. Bose and D. M. Das from the very beginning without any hope of personal gain, and it continued in that condition till its absorption into the *Indian Messenger* some years later.” (Pp. 280-81.)

II. Brahmo Samaj to Brahmo Dharma

Rammohun Roy was the founder of the *Brahmo Samaj*. Debendranath Tagore was the founder of the *Brahmo Dharma*. From a ‘Sabha’ or ‘Samaj’ to a ‘Dharma’ or religion, was a great transformation. What was the urge or reason behind bringing about this transformation? Debendranath offers the following answer in his *Autobiography*:

“People kept coming and going to and from the Samaj like the ebb and flow of the tide, but they were not bound together by any tie of religion. So when the number of visitors to the Samaj began to increase, I thought it necessary to pick and choose from among them. Some came really to worship, others came without any definite aim : whom should we recognise as the true worshipper of Brahma ? Upon these considerations I decided that those who would take a vow to renounce idolatry and resolve to worship the one God, they alone would be regarded as Brāhmaṇas. Considering that there was a Brāhmaṇ-Samaj, each member must of course be a Brāhmaṇ.

“It may appear to many at first sight that the Brāhmaṇ-Samaj was formed out of the Brāhmaṇ community, but such was not the case. The name Brāhmaṇ was derived from the Brāhmaṇ-Samaj. No undertaking succeeds without method. Therefore, in order that the conversion to the Brāhmaṇ-Dharma might be made in due form, in order that the worship of Brahma might be substituted for image-worship, I drew up a declaration of faith for initiation into the Brāhmaṇ-Dharma, which contained a clause to the effect that daily worship was to be performed by means of the the *Gayatri mantra*.¹ This

¹ The usual text for meditation prescribed for Brahmins. The three first words of the *Gayatri*.

was suggested to me by Rammohun Roy's injunction to adopt the *Gayatri* for the purpose of worshipping the Brahma....

"We fixed upon the 7th of Pausha 1765 (A. D. 1843) as the day for initiation into the Brāhma-Dharma. I screened off the small private room of the Samaj in which the Vedas used to be recited, and gave orders that no outsiders were to be admitted. A *vedi* was set up there, on which Vidyabagish took his seat, and we all sat around. A strange enthusiasm was awakened in our breasts. Today the seed of Brāhma-Dharma would be sown in the heart of each of us, and we hoped that in the fulness of time it would sprout up and become a tree everlasting.... Filled with this hope and zeal I stood up before Vidyabagish in all humility and spoke thus : 'We have come to you today, at this auspicious moment, to this sacred temple of the Brāhma-Samaj, in order to take the vow of initiation into the holy Brāhma-Dharma....'

"On hearing this exhortation of mine, and seeing my singleness of purpose, he shed tears, and said, 'Such was the aim of Rammohun Roy, but he was not able to realise it. After all this time now his desire has been fulfilled.' First Sridhar Bhattacharya got up, and reading out the vows in front of the *vedi*, accepted the Brāhma-Dharma, then came Shyamacharan Bhattacharya, then myself, then one by one, Brajendranath Tagore, Girindranath Tagore ... and others, twenty-one in all, accepted the Brāhma-Dharma....

"This was an unprecedented event in the annals of the Brāhma-Samaj. Formerly there had existed the Brāhma-Samaj only, now the Brāhma-Dharma came into existence. There can be no Dharma without Brahma, nor can Brahma be obtained without Dharma...."

The Autobiography of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, Translated from the original Bengali by Atayendranath Tagore and Indira Devi (London, 1914), Chapter IX, pp. 78-81.

III. Extract from the Trust Deed of the Brahmo Samaj : 8 January 1830

"...they the said Boykontonauth Roy, Radapersaud Roy and Ramanauth Tagor or the survivors or survivor of them

or the heirs of such survivors of their or his assigns shall and do from time to time and at all times for ever hereafter permit and suffer the said messuage or building land tenements hereditaments and premises with their appurtenances to be used occupied enjoyed applied and appropriated as and for a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people without distinction as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly sober religious and devout manner for the worship and adoration of the Eternal Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe but not under or by any other name designation or title peculiarly used for and applied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever and that no graven image statue or sculpture carving painting picture portrait or the likeness of anything shall be admitted within the said messuages building land tenements hereditaments and premises and that no sacrifice offering or oblation of any kind or thing shall ever be permitted therein and that no animal or living creature shall within or on the said messuage building land tenements hereditaments and premises be deprived of life either for religious purpose or for food and that no eating or drinking (except such as shall be necessary by any accident for the preservation of life) feasting or rioting be permitted therein or thereon and that in conducting the said worship and adoration no object animate or inanimate that has been or is or shall hereafter become or be recognized as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled or slightly or contemptuously spoken of or alluded to either in preaching praying or in the hymns or other mode of worship that may be delivered or used in the said messuage or building and that no sermon preaching discourse prayer or hymn be delivered made or used in such worship but such as have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the Universe to the promotion of charity morality piety benevolence virtue and the strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds and also that a person

of Good repute and well-known for his knowledge piety and morality be employed by the said trustees or the survivors or survivor of them or the heirs of such survivor or their or his assigns as a resident Superintendent and for the purpose of superintending the worship so to be performed as is hereinbefore stated and expressed and that such worship be performed daily or at least as often as once in seven days....”

IV. Shib Chandra Deb's Autobiographical note on the Brahmo Samaj

“During my early years, being brought up in the midst of Hindu Idolatry, I was naturally a Hindu, of the *Sakta* sect, i.e., a worshipper of Sakti or *Bhagabati*, and after my marriage I formally received, with my wife, *mantras* from the family spiritual guide, and worshipped Kali daily according to the formula given by the *guru*.

“When I was studying in the 4th class of the late Hindu College, under the tuition of Mr. D'Rozio, religious discussions were carried on under his guidance both in and out of the College, the result of which was that my faith in the Hindu Religion was gone, and I became a believer in one God, or, in other words, a Deist. But my circumstances not permitting me to act according to my belief, I was obliged to conform to the rites and ceremonies inculcated in Hinduism. I continued in that state till 1844, when I was transferred as Deputy Collector from Balasore to Midnapore. It was here that a copy of the *Tattvabodhini Patrika* came to my hand, and I was delighted to read in it the doctrines of the Brahmo Dharma. I immediately became a subscriber to that periodical, and began to worship the Supreme Being in the manner therein indicated.

“In 1846, I established a Brahmo Samaj at Midnapore which continued to exist till I left the District for the 24-Pergunnahs in January 1850. The Samaj was subsequently revived by Babu Rajnarain Bose, then Head Master of the Government School there, and brought to the most flourishing condition.

“Some time after my joining service in the 24-Pergunnahs, I formally embraced the Brahmo Dharma, and became a member

of the Adi Brahmo Samaj at Jorasanko. By the grace of God I have succeeded in introducing the Brahmo Dharma in my family. My wife is a sincere believer in that Religion, and reduces her belief to practice. All my children have been brought up in the same faith.

"I have already stated that I retired from the service of Government in January 1863. On the 28th May of that year I established a Brahmo Samaj at my house at Konnagar, the services of which were regularly held at first every fortnight and afterwards every week. This Samaj was originally set up under the auspices of the Adi Brahmo Samaj. Babu Debendranath Tagore occupied the *vedi* at the inauguration of the Samaj. But since the secession of Babu Keshub Chandra Sen and his friends from the latter Samaj, it showed its sympathy with the Brahmo Samaj of India, although in all matters the Konnagar Samaj acted independently of any Samaj, and at its Anniversary festivals the leaders of both the Samajes conducted services alternately. I have always entertained the highest veneration for the Maharshi D. N. Tagore. To provide the Samaj with a Prayer Hall of its own, I granted a piece of land on the riverside, and built a suitable house at a cost of upwards of three thousand Rupees, raised by subscription, a material portion of which was contributed by Babu Debendranath Tagore. The Mandir was executed appointing the gentlemen,

Babu Ananda Mohan Bose

,, Umesh Chandra Dutta

,, Pancikari Banerji

,, Satkari Deb

,, Satya Priya Deb

named in the margin, as Trustees of the Mandir. Some houses have also been built for the residence of ministers or missionaries.

(For a history of this Samaj I refer to the Appendix to the Annual Report of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj for 1879.)

"At one time I had the highest respect and esteem for Babu Keshub Chandra Sen as a religious teacher and reformer; but latterly, that is, a few years previous to the date of the Kuch Behar marriage, some of his proceedings in the Brahmo Samaj of India and his preachings in the Brahmo Mandir, were considered by me as very objectionable, which led me

to change my opinion regarding him. When I heard of his intention to marry his daughter with the Maharaja of Kuch Behar, I highly disapproved the measure, and joined my friends in sending a strong protest to him against the marriage. It was known to all that I took an active part in this movement, the result of which was the establishment of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj on the 15th May 1878. I served this Samaj as its Secretary from its commencement up to December 1879. At the Annual Meeting of the Samaj held in January 1880, I was elected its President, an office for which I did not consider myself competent, but I was obliged to accept it at the earnest request of some of my esteemed friends. This office was held by me for five years consecutively. After an interval of one year, I was again elected as President of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in 1887, after which I retired from the office in 1888."

V. Second Schism in the Brahmo Samaj

Protap Chunder Mozoomdar,
To Babu Shib Chunder Deb.

Dated Calcutta, 14th May, 1878.

SIR,

My attention has been drawn to an advertisement in the papers convening a meeting at the Town Hall to organize the Brahmo Samaj on a reformed and constitutional basis.

As the subject of the proposed organization is one of great importance to the Brahmo community and affects the position and prospects of the Brahmo Samaj of India, I beg you will allow me to make the following observations for the consideration of the meeting to be held to-morrow.

It is my duty on behalf of the Brahmo Samaj of India, to assert most solemnly that this Church is not capable of schismatic division, and that it cannot, therefore, look upon the present disagreement in the Brahmo community as a schism. Constituted as the Brahmo Samaj of India is, its integrity is indivisible, its unity inviolable. Its religion is

catholic theism, which means unsectarian and absolute religion. Its constitution is such that all who have faith in only the fundamental doctrines of religion are eligible as members. So long as there is identity of faith in essential matters no division is tolerated. The Brahmo Samaj of India is an all-inclusive Church, which excludes none because of immaterial differences of opinions. Even the "conservative" section of the Brahmo community belonging to the Calcutta Samaj is included in its wider organization. It comprises in its comprehensive membership the widest diversities of opinion and belief, extreme conservation [conservatism?] and extreme radicalism, the Hindu monotheist and the English theist. Should any body of its members on any plea, however, plausible, attempt to secede and form a sect, they will nevertheless be regarded by the parent Samaj as still forming a part of the body corporate, and their difference will be tolerated without reservation and their independence fully respected. Such being the constitution of the Brahmo Samaj of India, we cannot for one moment regard the present division in our Church as a doctrinal schism. Nor will you, I believe, contend that it is so. That there is a serious difference of opinion among us in connection with the recent marriage, I fully admit. Nor would I deny that among the more excited classes in either of the two parties it has grown into positive antagonism, almost as bitter, as violent and as inveterate as sectarianism. Yet the division is by no means of a sectarian character. Both parties uphold the essential principles of Brahmoism ; there is no doctrinal dispute. Even in regard to the questions of idolatry, caste and early marriage, which have been the subject of the present controversy, there is an essential identity of conviction and faith, as both parties are equally averse to these evils. Where then is the ground for a schismatic rupture ? Nowhere.

As schism, in the true sense of the word, in the sense of sectarian exclusiveness, in the sense of doctrinal disunion, is a moral impossibility in the present case.

From Babu Shib Chunder Deb,
To Babu Pratap Chunder Mozoomdar.

Dated Konnagar, the 18th May, 1878.

SIR,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 14th May instant, and in reply thereto I hope you will allow me to make the following observations, and beg you will give as much publicity to these lines as you have given to your letter to me.

I am sorry I do not at all see why the Brahmo Samaj is not at all "capable of schismatic division", constituted as it at present is. I must confess that when I entered the Brahmo Samaj of India, I thought with you and never for one moment dreamt there would be any occasion for another organization. But as years rolled by and yet no attempt at having a constitution was made, but on the other hand every attempt to place the Samaj on a constitutional basis was shifted and set at naught, my *worst* fears were aroused, and the persistency with which you baffled all endeavours at a constitution has now landed us at this sad pass.

You say "*constituted* as the Brahmo Samaj of India is, its integrity is indivisible, its unity inviolable." I wish it were so. Nothing has grieved me so much as the necessity of organizing another sister organization. I tried my best to avoid a separation. I felt most strongly that *division* meant *weakness*: and in order to avoid this division, I and my colleagues in the Brahmo Samaj Committee tried our best to give Brahmo Samaj of India a *constitution*, but you would not allow it. I cannot see, excuse me for my ignorance, if so it is, how constituted as the Samaj is, without a Council of Brahmos to guide it, without consulting the opinions of the majority of the Brahmos in the absence of representatives from the Mofussil Samajes, in the absence of a fixed code of rules and bye-laws to go by, managed as it at present is by two men only, the Brahmo Samaj could possibly be "indivisible" and its unity "inviolable". The only strength of an organization is in the unity in the voice of its members; but here the

voice of the members found no place, was not even *consulted*, and far less *respected*.

"Its religion", you say, "is Catholic Theism, which means unsectarian and absolute religion." I must admit, *theoretically* speaking, what you say is correct, but *practically* it rends my heart to say, it is not so. Catholic Theism, in my humble judgment, cannot sanction idolatry and early marriage. It cannot include that form of *Adesh* which you have appeal'd to, to support your conduct in the Kuch Behar marriage. In the name of Catholic Theism, questionable doctrines not assented to by a majority of Brahmos, and asceticism, seem to have been promulgated as cardinal principles of the Samaj. Pure and Catholic Theism, in my opinion, is not consistent with direct revelation of the kind of which your Minister on Sunday before last spoke. The Theistic Church cannot admit of an "anointed son". Although you *theoretically* deny that popery and priestcraft have taken possession of your Church, yet *in practice*, I find both these evils existing. The article in the *Sunday Mirror* sometime ago on Roman Catholicism opened my eyes to the direction in which the wind blows. In my opinion (I may be mistaken, but I honestly believe that) during the last four or five years, the ideal of Pure Theism has been considerably lowered, and this is chiefly owing to the opinions of certain persons being published as the opinions of the Brahmo Samaj. You yourself may not believe in the infallibility of the particular individual, but I do not think you can deny that, there are persons who do so, and this I cannot but attribute to the conduct of those who lead the Brahmo Samaj, by, if not actually countenancing, certainly winking at certain abject pseudo-religious conduct of their followers. I believe the Church has lost its pure catholicity and that sectarianism has entered its precincts. On the other hand, if you mean by catholicity to include un-Brahmic and idolatrous ceremonies and objectionable principles such as that of God indirectly sanctioning an early marriage with idolatrous rites, then no doubt, the Church is still catholic; but such catholicity I most heartily and

sincerely deplore. I am sorry I cannot agree with you in thinking that there are no doctrinal difference. Since your article in the *Sunday Mirror* maintaining that the Kuch Behar marriage fulfilled the essential principles of Brahmo marriage, considerable doubt has arisen in my own mind as to whether we do not differ in the essential principles of Brahmoism.

I cannot dismiss the subject of doctrinal differences without making one observation. You say "even in regard to the questions of idolatry, caste and early marriage in connection with the recent marriage, which have been the subject of the present controversy, there is an *essential identity of conviction and faith, as both parties are equally adverse to these evils.*" Excuse me if I say, I have grave doubts whether you *practically* are "adverse to these evils". I never thought pressure from the authorities could make any difference. As a matter of *principle* you at first proposed that the marriage should be solemnized when the parties arrived at their proper ages. That very attempt is an index to the *principle* which regulates Brahmo marriage ; but then you yielded to pressure from the authorities and having yielded you tried to establish in the *Sunday Mirror* that you had violated no *principle*, and that as a matter of *principle* the Brahmo Samaj had always "preferred to marry Brahmo girls at as early an age as possible", subject to certain physical changes taking place in the girl. According to the feeble light which is within me, I could not but consider this submission to pressure from authorities, as deliberately sacrificing a *principle*. Then as regards *caste*, no doubt the marriage took place between parties of different castes ; but then did you not indirectly sanction caste distinctions by allowing a Brahmo priest of orthodox Hindu convictions and faith to officiate at the marriage ? In the statement which you published sometime ago in the *Sunday Mirror* and *Dharma-Tattva*, you did not even suggest that you were *compelled* to yield about the priest at Kuch Behar. On the other hand, you wrote for and the priest came to Calcutta, and you consented to the priest presiding at the ceremony from the beginning. I hope you

have not forgotten the cause of your seceding from the Calcutta Samaj. The most prominent cause was Babu Debendra Nath Tagore's permitting certain ministers with their holy threads on, preaching from the *vedi*. I hope you have not forgotten that those ministers, although they wore this symbol of idolatry, were Brahmos in their faith and convictions, whereas the priests who you agreed should preside at this marriage, were orthodox, idolatrous Hindus by profession as well as by practice. Did you not also indirectly sanction caste prejudices by Keshub Babu agreeing not to give away his daughter in consequence of his visit to England, and submitting to his brother's doing the same? This was done deliberately before leaving for Kuch Behar, and therefore there can be no pretext for saying that you were coerced to do this at Kuch Behar.

How can I, after all these, say, "both parties are equally adverse to these evils." How can I say there are no doctrinal difference, "no ground for a schismatical rupture." May I beg to ask you here whether at the time that you separated from the Calcutta Samaj, there were really any doctrinal difference existing? Were there any doctrinal differences which separated the Free Church party from the General Assembly?...

VI. Surendranath Banerjea on 'Brahmo Public Opinion'

The most important incident in the journalistic career of Surendranath Banerjea is the famous 'Contempt Case'. "I claim the honour (for such I deem it)", says Surendranath, "of being the first Indian of my generation who suffered imprisonment in the discharge of a Public duty." A leaderette appeared in the *Bengalee* on April 2, 1883, based on information furnished by the *Brahmo Public Opinion*. Surendranath writes :

"The leaderette was based on information that appeared in the now defunct newspaper, the *Brahmo Public Opinion*. The *Brahmo Public Opinion* was edited by the late Babu Bhupon Mohan Das (Mr. C. R. Das's father), a well-known solicitor of the High Court. As no contradiction appeared, I accepted

the version as absolutely correct, especially in view of the fact that Babu Bhubon Mohan Das, being a solicitor and officer of the Court, might naturally be presumed to be well-informed on all matters in connexion with the High Court. I reproduced the substance of what appeared in the *Brahmo Public Opinion* and commented upon it.

"Soon after I received a writ from the High Court to show cause why I should not be committed for Contempt of Court. The writ was served on me on May 2 and May 5 was fixed as the day for the hearing."

Surendranath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making* (Oxford, 1925), Chapter VIII, pp. 74-75.

VII. Bipin Chandra Pal on 'Brahmo Public Opinion'

"Keshub Chunder had his English organ, the *Indian Mirror*, and the Bengali organ of the Brahmo Samaj of India entirely controlled by his missionaries, was a fortnightly, the *Dharma-tattwa*; while he had also a Bengalee weekly (the first Bengalee pice paper), the *Sulabh Samachar*. And all these organs of his commenced to try to prejudice public opinion against his opponents. The new Samaj had therefore to start first an English organ of its own, called the *Brahmo Public Opinion*. Indeed, it was already started with the beginning of the protest and before the establishment of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. It was financed by Babu Durga Mohan Das and Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose. Babu Bhuban Mohan Das, an attorney of the Calcutta High Court, Durga Mohan's younger brother, was placed in editorial charge of it. Immediately after the establishment of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, a Bangalee fortnightly organ of it was started under the name of the *Tattwa-kaumudee*. This name was selected by combining the title of the first organ of the new movement under Raja Ram Mohun Roy, which he called *Kaumudee*, and the name of the organ of the revived Brahmo Samaj under Debendra Nath Tagore, which he called, *Tattwa-Bodhinee*. The *Brahmo Public Opinion* was subsequently set free from

direct association with the Samaj in 1883, when the *Indian Messenger* was started by the Samaj itself as its own organ, and the *Brahmo Public Opinion* became a general weekly newspaper and review under the name of the *Bengal Public Opinion*. Babu Durga Mohan Das and his younger brother Bhulan Mohan took up the entire financial responsibility of the new undertaking. The *Bengal Public Opinion* lived an independent existence for two years, and in the third year it was merged in or incorporated with the *Bengalee* (weekly), which had passed a few years previously into the hands of Surendra Nath Banerjee. It was in this paper, the *Bengal Public Opinion* that I served my regular apprenticeship in English journalism."

Bipin Chandra Pal, *Memories of My Life and Times* (Calcutta, 1932), pp. 345-46.

VIII. Bipin Chandra Pal and Sadharan Brahmo Samaj

"With the establishment of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in 1878 my association with the movement of religious and social revolt became increasingly intimate....

"When in March 1878 a storm broke upon the Brahmo Samaj of India over the marriage of the eldest daughter of Keshub Chunder Sen with the minor Maharaja of Cooch Behar, I was drawn into this protest movement.

"Driven from the old Mandir the protesters started their weekly prayer meetings in a private house, a couple of doors removed from their old place of worship. A provisional committee, called Brahmo Samaj Committee, was formed with Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose as President, to take such steps in consultation with the Mofussil Congregations as might be deemed necessary and desirable for the purity of the Samaj and to secure a Prayer Hall of its own. This Committee convened a general meeting of Brahmos in the Town Hall of Calcutta and at this meeting was formally established the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in May 1878. I became a member of it and threw myself into such activities of the Samaj, mainly literary, as were open to me."

B. C. Pal, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-33.

IX. *The Statesman on the Brahmo Samaj*

Keshub Chunder Sen (Editorial)

Keshub Chunder Sen gave his hearers a treat on Monday last. We have never known the Babu more eloquent. The vigor of his thought was excellent. But it is because we are true friends of the Brahmo Samaj, and would keep it up to its broad ideal, that we confess to some disappointment at the too narrow principles laid down in this discourse of its leader in the Town Hall. The oration, or sermon was, as to its plan, very simple and explicit. Sin was the "disease" and its "remedy" as he gave it, was devout feeling. Godward elevation carried to the pitch not merely of enthusiasm, but of "intoxication, drunkenness, madness." He pleaded for "asceticism", abstraction from the common cares of life, and from all that was 'dry' and not 'sweet'. From two to five hours a day were to be given to spoken prayer, sacrificing all other calls and requirements; such as those of the family, the office, and the school, or of labor in the streets or in the fields. He seemed not to remember that to the large majority of men, such a course is impracticable. Being a keen observer and a fair thinker, we could not but wonder that his visit to England, where, as we understand he gave, in various parts of the country, no less than sixty public addresses, had not broadened his mind a little further, and led it out beyond the teachings of Kabir Tookaram and Chaitanya ; or of the Dhyan and Bhakti of refined Hinduism.

28 January 1877

The Brahmo Marriage (Correspondence)

Sir,

The Indian Mirror in its issue of Saturday last, has thought it fit to devote an article to the announcement of a marriage which has been arranged to take place between the young Maharajah of Cooch Behar and a daughter of Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen ; and to express its rejoicing at what, according to the Mirror, will mark an epoch in the social history of India. Without discussing whether this will be so or not, it

is unfortunately only too true from many indications, that the event will mark a most painful epoch in the history of the Brahmo Somaj, and the cause of social progress in Bengal with which the Somaj has been so long and so justly identified. Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen's assent to this marriage is regarded with feelings of grief and surprise by a very large number, perhaps by a very large majority of Brahmos, as inconsistent with the principles which he himself has hitherto so zealously advocated, and this event may possibly lead to a crisis in the position and development of the progressive party in the Brahmo Somaj, a party upon which so many, both in Europe and in India, have looked with eager interest and, in not a few cases, fervent hope. In the belief that your readers will be interested in what relates to an occurrence of such importance, which has already deeply stirred the feelings of the whole native community, I append a translation of a protest against the marriage which has been addressed to Baboo K. C. Sen. I may add that what adds to the significance of the letter is the fact, that those who have signed it are all members of that extremely small section of the Brahmo community who are Brahmos not by profession only, but are so by deeds, and that this is only one of many similar documents which either have been, or are being sent to Keshub Baboo from Calcutta and the mofussil.

SASIPADA BANNERJEE.

THE PROTEST signed by : Sib Chandra Dev, Durgamohan Das, A. M. Bose and others.

14 February 1878

Brahmo Meeting (Correspondence)

Sir,

Pursuant to the notice published in the daily papers, a meeting of the Brahmos was convened at the Albert Medical Hall on Saturday, and 6.30 p. m. was the hour at which the proceedings were to have commenced. Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen is the Secretary to the Albert Hall. Baboo Shib Chunder

Deb, the Secretary to the Provisional Committee which convened the meeting, wrote to Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen for the use of the Hall for the purpose of the meeting. On Friday morning, Baboo Guru Charan Moholanabis, who was entrusted with the charge of arranging for the seats, and the lights, saw Ram Chunder Singh, an ex-missionary, and the person in charge of the hall, and told him that the gas lights would be required for the purpose of the meeting, and that the meeting would pay for the same. Ram Chunder Singh at first hesitated to give the use of gas, until some person held himself responsible for the expenses, and Baboo Guru Charan Moholanabis assuring him that he would himself be responsible for the costs of the gas, he consented. At 4.30 p.m. on Saturday, Baboo Dwarkanath Gangooly, on behalf of the gentlemen convening the meeting, asked Ram Chunder Singh to give orders for the gas lights, and he (Ram Chunder) called the bearer and the durwan, and in the presence of Gangooly, issued orders for the lights and went out. At 5.30 p.m. Ram Chunder Singh came back, and said he could not allow the lights to be lit, without orders from Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen, and on Baboo Dwarkanath Gangooly protesting and remonstrating on the ground that Ram Chunder had already given orders for the lights, he said he did not at first know that the meeting had not got Keshub Baboo's permission for the lights, and said he could not light the gas without such permission.

The projectors of the meeting, having thus been left in the lurch, sent Baboos Kallynath Dutt and Shashi Pada Banerjee, at 5.45 p.m., to the "Lily Cottage" to get permission from Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen. Baboo K. C. Sen said he would give the order for the lights, and a letter addressed to Ram Chunder Singh was put into their hands. This was at about 6.30 p.m., when the meeting was to have commenced. In the meantime, about 400 people had assembled at the Hall and they were groping in the dark. Among those present were Rev. K. C. Macdonald and another reverend gentleman. At 6.45 p.m. the President of the Meeting, Baboo Anunda

Mohun Bose was requested by a very large portion of the audience present to adjourn the meeting, and on his consulting the Rev. K. C. Macdonald, he also agreed in thinking that the meeting should be adjourned. Up to this time Baboo K. N. Dutt and S. P. Banerjee had not returned from Baboo K. C. Sen's with the required permission for the lights. The President then addressed the meeting and announced the meeting adjourned. A number of school boys kicked up a row, and one of them asked the meeting to go on in darkness, and created a great disturbance. About a dozen or 15 chairs were broken after the meeting was dissolved ; and the Rev. S. C. Ghose and the Rev. B. C. Bose, who also were invited and went to the meeting, actually saw some boys preparing to fight, and heard some other boys conspiring to assault Baboo D. N. Gangooly, and they also witnessed some of these boys throwing the chairs about and smashing them to pieces. The Committee being apprehensive to further damage to the chairs wrote to the Inspector of the Moocheepara Thannah for a constable to keep watch for the night. The meeting has been adjourned and will take place at the Town Hall at 5.30 p m. on Thursday next, the 28th instant.

Comment on the above is hardly necessary. It is only necessary to state that applications for the use of the Hall have always implied a request for the use of the gas lights and the separate application for the gas has never been made. On the occasion of the reception of the deputation from the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, the Indian Association only applied for the use of the Hall, and Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen, as a matter of course did not object to the lights being lit. One can hardly fail to see that the whole thing was pre-concerted, kept cut and dry, to prevent the meeting taking place.

DOORG A MOHAN DOSS.

25 February 1878

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